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THE SOUTHERN SITUATION.

Grave apprehensions, based on undeniable proofs, are everywhere felt in regard to the peace of the South. The mails are loaded with letters and newspapers, the wires with dispatches stating or denying the details of outrages there. Why is it that law is violated and society made a chaos? Nine years and a half have passed since Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. One month later Kirby Smith surrendered the last organized rebel force to John Pope at Shreveport, Louisiana. During all the period that has followed no man has been punished in his person or property for the treason which he aided and abetted, and the resulting losses, with the misery consequent thereon that such armed treason produced. The arrest of Jefferson Davis and comparatively brief imprisonment, with the much briefer detention of a few other leaders, and a forbidding to a few hundred persons of the right to hold office, has been all the direct personal punishment received by those who organized the most formidable rebellion of the later centuries for the sole purpose of perpetuating a system of chattel slavery and to construct a government of which Alexander H. Stephens declared "the corner stone" should be John Wesley's "Sum of all Villainies." We do not recapitulate for the purpose of recrimination. We are not raking over the "dry bones" of the past simply to arouse the fears or excite the animosities of those whose memories dwell there, or whose prejudices are

readily alarmed. It is fitting, however, that we should recall the facts. Brief and cold as are the words they describe the cause of the Southern rebellion, and point unmistakably to the reason why this generation and that which is to follow, as well as all history, should never forget or condone, however much they may forgive.

The naked fact stands forth that the existence of slavery alone was the animating cause of rebellion. In the sectional directness and vigor, political, social, and material, which it created can only be found the influences by which such a purpose as disunion was first conceived and then carefully nurtured; by which a power was organized sufficiently strong to control national legislation for nearly or quite fifty years; by which a specious and plausible political theory and school claiming to defend through State sovereignty the grand idea of local self-government was sustained, extended, and maintained; and by which, at all times, the public policy of fifteen great States, with all the forces that a dominant sentiment could bring to bear, was practically used as one in the same direction.

If slavery was the key-note of disunion and subsequent civil war, the spirit it produced and the evil passions it bred, the personal and class pride it evoked and fostered, the ignorance surrounding a majority of its defenders and by which it thrived, the fierce prejudices it aroused, the utter disregard of all per-

sonal and civic rights belonging to others who differed from its advocates which it engendered and which still lives in the section it cursed, the inability of those who lived by and out of its profits to adapt themselves to the conditions of equal civil laws and proper social surroundings, are all accounted for and logically adapted to the facts. When you add to this sad statement the other, that the race formerly enslaved is of another color and coming from conditions so different, and so calculated, too, in the eyes of such a community as is thus outlined to foster personal pride and race contempt that this race instinctively sided with the Republic, waiting patiently for its call and pressing readily forward thereto when made, *that it never stained, as a race or class, its hands with insurrectionary blood*, giving through its instinctive patience, sagacity, and fidelity the loftiest tribute ever paid to that saving grace of Republican ideas and institutions by which the enslaved millions moved forward to emancipation and enfranchisement along the pathway of the Union and through the gateway of the law; then, we say, the political philosopher and student can readily perceive why it is that there prevails such a dangerous condition of affairs as every day proves more conclusively to exist in the South.

It is very difficult to make persons unfamiliar with the daily practice and vitiating results of such a social crime as slavery was understand the inevitable consequences that follow its progress, struggles, defeat, and death. In saying that the South—the white South—has been morally corrupted and socially debauched by this evil thing, we do not do so in reproach, but only as desirous of laying bare the causes of such a condition of affairs as exist to-day in some of the reconstructed States. That sometimes “the sweetness of mercy brews bitter destruction” in public affairs receives forcibly sad illustration in the daily recurring accounts of political murders and outrages which every elec-

tric wire and every mail brings northward. A learned French physician published, at the close of the commune siege of Paris, a theory to the effect that the sufferings of the Parisian people consequent upon the Prussian war and siege had produced a species of communal insanity. On this hypothesis he explained, as moral aberrations uncontrollable by the actors themselves and epidemical in effect, much of the strange and startling history of that period. If there is anything but speculation in this theory it may properly be applied to present pro-Southern conditions. In this way only can the thoughtful man escape the theory of individual responsibility, by and on which, in rendering a verdict on Southern affairs, it is so hard for a public sentiment to rest which, like that of the North, accepts as fundamental the philosophy of human progress. Upon the idea of a wide-spread public aberration produced by the perversion of many moral instincts which must follow the vigorous existence of slavery, the statesman can deal with communities like those now ridden with the “White Leagues” and heretofore cursed by the Kuklux. He can see that it is right to “stamp out” their crimes as ruthlessly as farmers do the “rinderpest,” without having ought of personal or political passion or malice, for at the same time he sees more clearly than ever that the duty nearest to all of us is to encourage and sustain all public, civic, and social forces which aim not so much to the reconstruction as to the regeneration of the section thus afflicted.

Political science, guided by accepted principles and aiming to realize certain defined ideals in law and society, can see clearly that this present disorder is the natural outgrowth of a past public crime whose effects have by no means passed away. It may, therefore, destroy the crime, punish the actors, remould the society in which it exists, and yet hold the social state rather than the individual responsible therefor. It is common to ignore this. In fact it is difficult to

make most persons see the line of cause and effect. So, as in other things, the sporadic evils which come on the side of freedom are readily made over into proofs of the evils of freedom. The legacy left by the Past in the shape of ignorance and prejudice, easily falling a prey to demagogism and corruptions, are pointed out as proof that freedom itself is wrong. Men whose idea of a free government is one in which they and their neighbors are the least disturbed, in which their labor and skill are the most profitable, and their comfort most easily attained, are too often forgetful of the stern and severe processes by which are built the foundations of their desirable structure. They grow impatient at disturbance, and too often vent their spleen on the victims rather than the cause. Still, when these persons are made to realize that only by the absolute changing of conditions can peace be attained they are at once ready to adopt the necessary means. And the first step to a just realization, as regards the Southern situation, is to understand how completely slavery has debauched the great mass of Southern whites, and how utterly they fail to understand, even remotely, the ideals of personal and equal rights—to live, to differ, to work, to travel—for the realization of which republican governments have been founded and defended. It can not be too strongly asserted and reasserted what has been said before in this connection, that—

“The South is, in large degree, an inverted community. On questions of sectional and race politics it is a pyramid on its apex. What the public morals of a free community, cradled in free discussion and nurtured with the idea of respecting all men's rights, believe to be honest, just, equitable, and usual, this pro-Southern feeling regards as dishonest, unjust, inequitable, and so unusual as to be the grossest of outrages. We, of the old free States are continually forgetting these potent facts, and the old South as constantly takes advantages of our simplicity.”

These being the underlying causes, any analysis of the civic social superstructure raised upon them will show that it

can easily be led by a few persons such as those who, renowned for service and chieftainship during prosperity and struggle, or those who have come to the surface during the subsequent years of defeat and attempted recovery. It would be unnatural to expect the majority of Southern white men and women to renounce the ideas of their lives, and we, too, would surely regard as weakness any such general abandonment as a very few wise men among them have exhibited. We have trusted and still trust to the growth of new forces; to the creative powers of capital and industry; to the regenerating influences of right principles. We have never despaired of them. We know that we are near the assurance of their triumphs, not only as written in the statute books, but in the revivifying influences of new conditions, and neither the bloody phantasmagoria now being enacted, nor the worst corruptions that disorder has engendered, disturbs our calm assurance of triumph. Representative Lamar, of Mississippi, by far the ablest as he certainly is the most genuinely eloquent man of his order in the South, has a frequent figure of speech by which he denounces the “so-called” rule of carpet-baggers and negroes in the South as a “mud volcano vomiting filth and deluging the land.” Accepting his illustration, we turn it to the purposes of this argument. The volcano exhausts itself, and the black stream which it poured forth becomes the richest cause of fertility. Along the mountain side, harmless then, up to the very crater's edge, shall be seen smiling fields, ripe with the luxuriance of golden harvests, sweet with perfume and varied with rarest colors from innumerable flowering plants, purple with ripening vineyards, and, above all, bright with the busy scenes and smiling life of industrious and peaceful communities to crown and bless the fertile flood which the evil giant under this Southern Etna now pours forth in defiant anger. The mud streams will cease to flow, Mr. Lamar, when the evil spirit of slavery

shall finally give up the ghost, and forever cease its writhings in the vain attempt to overthrow that superincumbent mass of free institutions which the triumph of the Union first piled upon the giant's breast.

Our faith remains serene in the triumph of the Republic. But none the less is there a duty to be done: Crime must be suppressed and disorder crushed out, at whatever cost, that the "perfect work" of free institutions may have its way. Recurring, again, to the theory broached by the French physician referred to, and using the illustration of insanity, it may be said that the duty of the Government and of public sentiment is to prevent mischief when the mad fury rages by confining the patient, and at the same time, as well as at other periods, to so treat the South so as to aid its progress to sanity—facilitate its recovery, in brief, by every possible means. Repression only for safety. Disorders that become chronic threaten the very foundations of society.

The disorders of the South are not to be dealt with as matters of party policy. The Executive of this nation, charged as he is with the enforcement of law and the protection of both Government and citizen under the Constitution, can do no less than place the officers and forces of the law in positions and under instructions such as will enable them to act effectually either in preventing by the proof of their readiness, or in suppression by their action, if either of such courses become necessary. Hence, the President fulfills a plain duty in the precaution recently taken of distributing the small Federal force at the disposal of the War Department at convenient posts in the disturbed sections. All criticisms of this plain duty which approves or disapproves thereof, from partisan reasons, are paltry in the extreme, and bear on their front almost the semblance of insult. They fall as far short of comprehending any broad ideas of public duty as the furious monomaniacs of the pro-Southern schools have re-

cently done in imagining that the President would be influenced by the trash so many of their papers and leaders have recently been uttering on the "third term" folly—as a matter of Southern policy. The Opposition critics who now turn round and declare that the movement of troops in the South and the strained attention aroused again to the "situation" there is intended to force the renomination, by the party in power, of the present able and patriotic incumbent of the Chief Executive's chair, are quite as much at sea as they or their confreres were in playing the part of Satanic bribers, by suggesting to the President the advisability of his throwing himself from the high mount on which loyalty and service had placed him, in the expectation that "they" or their familiars could secure him the bauble of a third term. Even Editor Waterson, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, who is perhaps both the wisest and witliest of Southern advisers, manages to secure himself, Dogberry-like, written "down an ass" in the first of the following paragraphs quoted from an otherwise notable article:

"The fools are not all dead yet. This third term discussion has led many of them to fancy that Grant is about to tumble into the arms of the South. He is more likely to bean ultra, martial-law candidate for re-election, backed by fancied military necessities, supported by machine-work of power, and carried upon the passions of Radicalism. There was a show for the defeat of the civil rights bill or its veto. That is gone, like the control of the next House, and the prospect is black with the ruin of Conservative hopes.

"It is well to be plain. As surely as the South begins to get on its feet do its madmen proceed to kick the fat in the fire. The Radicals only want pretexts. The South supplies them. A war, or the appearance of a war, of races seems inevitable; and that is itself a third term under prospective auspices. That is the overthrow of republican government, but chiefly at the expense of the South."

There are no such ideas anywhere. The Northern mind is almost absolutely wearied with this Southern worry.

Thoughtful politicians of the successful party are in dead earnest in their desire to remove it from the administrative arena and the legislative and popular forums. They desire to see other issues, now clamoring for consideration, brought there in calmness and peace. Managing partisans thoroughly understand that the continuance of disorder in the South or elsewhere, of the character and aim of that now so painfully apparent, seems to be a reproach to those in power and a verdict of their party's incapacity for statesmanship. But neither the wise politician nor the managing partisan can afford to shirk one iota of the duty which the madness of a community debauched by slavery—a very Pandora's box of evil influences—forces upon the National Government and its supporters.

The suppression, as well as the continued existence of disorders in the South, may, it is not improbable, work quite as much to the injury as to the good of the party in power. Its effects in that direction can not be considered by the Executive. He must maintain order by enforcing the law, especially with a community that interprets every manifestation of trusting to the conserving forces of our institutions into either a pandering to the disturbers for power or a fear of their influence with others.

The President has already shown he will act, and vigorously. In this he will be sustained most heartily by all good citizens. All the more so, because the proofs of the necessity are so abundant and incontrovertible. "Proofs as strong as holy writ"—sad proofs, written in blood, to be read in the light of neighborhood warfare, and attended by circumstances of such barbarous horrors as when recited seem to be taken from some page of an old chronicle—the Velmgericht tribunals of the middle ages, the Free Companion raids of the Italian municipal wars, the outbreaks of the Anabaptists, or the later atrocities of the thirty years war in Germany. All the blackness of the periods cited find

their counterpart in the scenes that have occurred in the Southern States during the last few years, and they are nearly always accompanied by circumstances of peculiar cruelty and cowardly atrocity, such as only could result from the evil passions slavery fostered and the defeat its mad designs evoked. In no other community, within the range of modern civilization, at least, could such an atrocious conspiracy as that of the Kuklux Klan, with its shocking paraphernalia of secrecy and circumstance, have been organized. In none other could there have been so apparently sudden and perfect an organization sprung into being as that now known as the "White Leagues" of Louisiana and Alabama; the "Rifle Clubs" and "Tax-payers' Unions" of South Carolina, or similar bodies in other States, because in none could be found the two concomitants of race-hatred, born of the overthrow of slavery and treason, and of unrestrained and malignant political ambition which renders the issue so terrible a one.

It is only in communities where the passion of mastership, of avarice, and of lust, organized into a social system, built into material and political powers, defeated utterly in efforts at supreme control, have made fit instruments for crimes against liberty and order of the majority of those who plume themselves on race-superiority that it is possible for a few men who skulk behind the compact secrecy of such conspiracy as that soil is always ripe for, and carry forward a systematic plan of terror and assassination, mainly, nay, almost wholly, directed to the one idea of controlling the political situation.

That such is the distinct idea, the direct aim and purpose, can soon be proven. Take the State of Louisiana, and note the parishes from which the more recent outrages are reported. It will be seen that there are two facts uppermost in their situation:

1. They are largely Republican in sentiment, and the greater portion of the voters are colored persons.

2. That they are quite contiguous to portions of Arkansas and Texas, where the white population are largely in the majority and comprise many of the most desperate elements of the ex-Confederate army.

• The large majority of the white residents (who are still in the minority as to population) of the disturbed parishes are ex-slaveholders and Confederates, sympathizing and acting with the Democratic party. It is very evident that the present step in the deliberate programme of pro-Southern reaction which was systematically begun on the part of Democratic leaders, some four years ago or less, by the organization of the Kuklux, Knights of the White Camelia, &c., is to secure possession for Democratic representatives of all (or nearly so) the Southern Congressional districts. The preceding steps were to secure as many States as they could, and then came the attempt to cozen the loyal masses into the idea of "reconciliation," without either "reconstruction" or "regeneration," by the nomination of Horace Greeley. The tactics which suited them best, that of terror, achieved full success in Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas, and partially so in other States. The reconciliation masquerade was a failure. Now they are fighting for control of Congress, and to that end must do three things:

1. Disgust the North with cunningly exaggerated ideas of the negro's corruption, and the villainous dishonesty of such white men as (either Northern or Southern born) adhere to the Republican banner, and so have become largely representative of the colored vote. To palliate the forcible expulsion or assassination of such whites, it was essential that they should be systematically assailed, derided, and denounced, until constant iteration produced the desired belief, on the same principle that it is supposed fire exists where there is much smoke.

2. Having deprived the colored voters of their more trusted friends and coun-

selors, to take advantage of the general timidity of the colored citizen to terrorize him into absence from the polls, and a consequent surrender of representation into the hands of the pro-Southern minority.

3. Continuity with other States, or sections thereof, having the available force necessary to carry out these plans is an essential part of the conspiracy. It will be found, by an examination of dispatches and of maps of the localities affected, that with but a few exceptions the organized movements of the "White League" raiders all occur in districts, counties, and parishes situated, politically and geographically, as is indicated herein. These facts, for such they are, fully indicate the organized nature of the "White Terror," and must conclusively prove that the movement, like its predecessor, has a common origin and common direction.

If any other example is needed it can be found in South Carolina, where there is to-day being rapidly perfected a duplex organization for the sole purpose of dispossessing the suffragan majority there of power, and placing the State in the hands of the minority. We are not now defending, excusing, or in any way palliating the proven or alleged corruptions of the State administrations set up by the majority now being conspired against. It is not necessary to weaken this argument by such a digression, and all that is needed is to call attention to the fact that the proposed method of remedying such evils, by striking as it does at the fundamental safeguard of republican existence, is much more dangerous than existing wrongs. There is now organizing in South Carolina two formidable wings of the conspiracy whose features we are outlining. One is known as the "Taxpayers' Union," avowedly formed to resist the payment of State taxes, and the other is termed "Rifle Clubs," an innocently appearing scheme chartered by the last Legislature, under which the Confederate army is being reorganized, drilled, and armed

to sustain by force the so-called Tax-payers' Union's refusal to obey the law and support the State government. Can any sensible man for a moment doubt that the ostensible purpose of reform can be accomplished by an honest appeal to the ballot-box, by, with, and through their own votes and those of the many reformers in Republican ranks? The real object is not to *reform* but to *control* the State government to the end that there may be put in train, as has been the case in Georgia, such laws and neighborhood forces as will be sure to effect the practical disfranchisement of the colored man. Quite recently a Charleston paper, the *Sun*, in a vigorous editorial, unmasked with great boldness a part of the conspiracy. Having first analyzed the political situation in the several counties of the State, it pointed out a certain number of them as ripe for white control, the races being so nearly equal as to make the effort to "manage" the "niggers" quite feasible. It then indicated that to effect a complete triumph it would be necessary to have a number more counties polled for the benefit of its side, and thereupon it pointed out a dozen or so lying contiguous to Democratic portions of North Carolina and Georgia, appealing in direct terms to their allies to come over and help the Democratic minority of South Carolina to obtain illegal and necessarily forcible control of the State government. The affirmative responses from the affiliated press of the adjoining States have been forcible and direct.

These things are salient proofs of the conspiracy, its nature, methods, and purposes, which is now afflicting the South. It is conspiracy that could only exist in a diseased community. It is an extremely morbid illustration of the abnormal state of public morals, which has grown out of slavery and its attending evils. The nation, in press, pulpit, politics, capital, and industry alike, must be made to see quite clearly that there is no road out of disorder in passively surrendering the colored citizen into the

hands of his whilom owner and his still bitter oppressor. The negro is still a man however much he has been cowed in the past. As a race or class in our midst they seem to have instinctively, if dumbly and without apparent reason, trusted to the public spirit of the nation, its laws, and their general intent, for protection and defense. Hence there has been no organized attempt to resist the "White Terror," *and there probably will be none, however justifiable, just as long as the negro does not lose his instinctive faith in such defense and security as the country is in all honor and faith pledged to secure him.* Let him lose that hope, and the war of races, *now all on one side*, might begin in deadly earnest. We do not believe it will come, because the madness of the white South will work its own downfall by arousing the indifferent and stirring the lukewarm in the loyal States into such support of the administration which maintains the law at all hazards, and of the public polity and party policy that seeks to regenerate the South with the spirit of republican institutions, and so bind all the forces of this continental Republic of ours into one vast consensus of national progress, animated by intelligent conceptions of liberty, social order, and industrial development.

THE DIFFERENCE.—The Democrats of Georgia and South Carolina band together and equip themselves with the most approved rifles, and feel hurt if any one questions their constitutional right to thus bear arms. But the exercise of the same right on the part of the Republicans is looked upon as a conspiracy against the peace of the State, and to find a rifle or a revolver in the possession of a colored man is sufficient evidence to hang the possessor to the limb of a tree or riddle him with bullets. This is Southern Democracy that claims national honors at the hands of the people. If savage barbarism could win honors Democracy would carry off the lion's share.

THE NATIONAL MEDICAL MUSEUM.

In an era of scientific progress, when every theory advanced or dogma promulgated, however plausible, must be based upon, or supported by, observed facts, to be favorably received and considered by the savants of the day, it becomes a matter of the greatest importance to collect, classify, and arrange under some comprehensive system everything attainable bearing directly or indirectly upon such subjects as the interests of science or humanity may require to be investigated. Recognizing this truth, and the paramount importance of questions involving the lives and health of future generations, the Surgeon General, early in the beginning of the late civil war, announced to the medical staff of the army the intention to prepare for future publication a medical and surgical history of the war, and instituted important modifications in the returns of sick and wounded, which it had become evident were insufficient and defective.

Cotemporaneously with the establishment of a more accurate system of medical and surgical reports, a pathological collection was commenced, which, under the charge of Surgeon J. H. Brinton, U. S. V., and Assistant Surgeon J. J. Woodward, U. S. A., became the basis of the Army Medical Museum as it now exists—an eloquent and instructive history of the medicine and surgery of the war, and without which no history could have been completely illustrated.

The announcement of this project was cordially responded to by the medical officers of the army, and in August, 1862, a building on H street, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets, now used as a medical college, was secured to accommodate the vast stores of specimens, rich in new discoveries, and containing the solution of many vexed questions in medicine and surgery, that a great war must necessarily produce, and which would otherwise be buried with the dead on the field of battle.

On January 10, 1863, the first catalogue of the Museum was published, under the form of a report to the Surgeon General, from which it appears that the collection then contained thirteen hundred and fifty-four specimens, of which nine hundred and fifty-nine were surgical, one hundred and six medical, and two hundred and eighty-nine missiles, the latter consisting of round and conoidal bullets, shot, grape, canister, fragments of shell, arrows, &c., for the most part extracted from the body. The catalogue was intended simply as a numerical list of the objects in the Museum, and no attempt had been made to classify the various injuries, nor had any description of the preparations been entered upon beyond a simple and brief statement of their chief physical properties.

On October 3, 1864, Surgeon George A. Otis, U. S. Vols., now in the regular army, was assigned to duty as curator of the Museum, and a plan of classification was adopted, which has since been adhered to with various unimportant modifications.

The system of arrangement can not be fully described in the limits of this article, nor is it of sufficient interest to the general reader to warrant a complete recital of its details. The various specimens collected for the Museum are arranged in six sections, viz: I, surgical; II, medical; III, microscopical; IV, anatomical; V, comparative anatomy; VI, Indian curiosities and miscellaneous articles. These sections are also divided into sub-sections, after the mode of arrangement that experience suggested and the ends to be accomplished rendered most expedient.

On June 24, 1864, a circular-letter was issued by the Surgeon General to medical officers in charge of hospitals, directing them to diligently collect and preserve for the Museum all pathological surgical specimens which might occur in their hospitals. This letter was pub-

lished more for the purpose of securing a certain class of specimens than to stimulate the liberality with which most valuable pathological material was forwarded. It also enumerated the principal objects desired for the Museum, and contained instructions in regard to their primary preparation, preservation, and transmission to the Museum. Until the close of the war the collections were mainly restricted to such specimens as illustrated military surgery and the pathology of camp diseases. After the great struggle was over, however, its scope became more comprehensive, and it now includes the whole field of general pathology in its collections, which already far exceed all others on this continent.

On April 14, 1865, the building, No. 511 Tenth street, then the principal theater in Washington, was thrown into painful prominence in the history of the country by the assassination of President Lincoln, an event still too fresh in the minds of the people to need a recital here. The theater was immediately closed to all save the workmen engaged in demolishing and reconstructing its interior, and exactly two years after it was reopened to the public as the Army Medical Museum. The building, as it now exists, is a plain brick structure, painted dark brown, 71 feet front by 109 feet deep, and three stories high. The interior has been remodeled and made fire-proof, with the exception of the roof; the doors and windows changed, and the boxes and galleries torn out; strong floors, girded with iron and vaulted with brick, replace at different heights the open canopy of the theater, and iron staircases lead from floor to floor. The third floor, corresponding to the gallery of the theater, is now the Museum Hall. Rows of glass cases with wooden frames, filled with specimens carefully mounted on wooden stands or in glass jars, extend nearly the whole length of the hall, which is well lighted by a large central skylight, and windows at either end. At the rear of the

north side of the main building is a small wing used for workshops. Another wing at the front of the south side contains the chemical laboratory and the offices of the medical officers on duty. The first floor of the building is occupied by the Record and Pension Division of the Surgeon General's Office, and is not open to the public. The second story is occupied by the Division of Surgical Records, a portion of the anatomical section of the Museum, the library of the Surgeon General's Office, and the microscopical section of the Museum. The latter occupies the southeast part of the floor, and is partitioned off from the rest of the room. It contains at present 6,849 specimens, the most of which have been prepared at the Museum. They embrace numerous thin sections of diseased tissues mounted for microscopical study, as well as a great variety of preparations demonstrating the minute structure of normal tissues. They include also a number of test and miscellaneous objects. Methods of preparations have been arrived at by which the most delicate of the soft tissues are mounted in such a way as to exhibit their most minute details and secure their permanent preservation. An important feature in this section is the success which has been attained in photomicrography. The most delicate microscopical preparations have been successfully photographed with even the highest powers under which they are distinctly visible. The method by which these results were obtained has attracted the admiring attention of all those who have made attempts in a similar direction throughout the entire world.

The surgical section, naturally the largest and most important in the Museum, contains at present 6,448 specimens, of which the greater number belong to the category of military surgery, and illustrate the effects of missiles of all kinds on every part of the body. Some of these are exceedingly curious and interesting to the general observer as well as to medical men. It would take a vol-

ume to describe all the strange freaks of bullets and fragments of shot and shell that are to be seen here.

This section is arranged on an anatomical basis, all those specimens illustrating an injury of a certain part of the body being placed together under their appropriate subdivision. Under the head of "Injuries and Diseases of the Cranium" is a number of specimens showing the result of gunshot wounds, wounds caused by arrow-heads, tomahawks, saber thrusts, &c. Among these is a number of examples of that rare and interesting variety of gunshot fracture of the cranium in which the internal table is fractured while the external table remains intact. Here is also seen an instance where a conoidal ball split in two upon entering the head, one-half going inside and causing almost instant death, the other half remaining imbedded between the scalp and cranial bones. On another specimen a minie ball may be observed astride the bones of the nose. Still another remarkable case is that of a would-be suicide, whose head is preserved here, the subject having attempted to reach the great hereafter by firing a pistol into his mouth. From some cause the ball did not penetrate the cranium, but severed the jugular vein, and remained imbedded in the bones of the head in such a manner that it acted as a valve, restraining the flow of blood which would otherwise have escaped from the divided vessels and caused almost instant death; so that the bullet, after producing an injury otherwise fatal, became his preserver. He lived seventeen years, and died from other causes.

Among many other objects of interest to the observer may be mentioned the third, fourth, and fifth cervical vertebrae, and a portion of the spinal cord of John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln, and the bones from the shoulder, elbow, hip, and knee joints of about two hundred different patients, the most of whom are living with more or less use of the remaining portion of their limbs. The subjects of some of

the most remarkable of these cases are employed in and about the Museum on such duties as they are able to perform. Here are also the bones of the forearm and neck of the "Confederate" Captain Henry Wirtz, who was hung at the close of the war for cruelty to Union prisoners while in charge of the prison pens at Andersonville, Ga.; and the tibia and fibula of Generals D. E. Sickles, T. W. Sherman, and General Fessenden, the latter the son of the ex-Senator and ex-Secretary of the United States Treasury of the same name.

A number of preparations, displaying the effects of arrow wounds, and other injuries peculiar to Indian hostilities, have been received. The wonderful power and velocity with which the arrow is driven from the Indian bow is illustrated in several curious instances. Here, for example, is a piece of a stage door pierced by an Indian arrow-head which sticks in it as firmly as a wedge, the point emerging on the inside. The stage was attacked by Comanches, near the Pecos river, Texas, September, 1870. Of the three passengers, one was killed, another escaped, and the third was severely wounded. The history of the latter is interesting, as showing the power of human endurance under severe injuries. He received an arrow wound in the head and three gunshot flesh wounds, one in the arm, another in the breast, and a third in the leg. Notwithstanding all these he traveled a distance of one hundred and sixty miles on the barren plains, mostly on foot. On the seventh day after the injury he was admitted into the post hospital at Fort Concho, Texas. His mental condition at the time of admission was as clear as usual; but this favorable condition did not last long, and on the 19th of September he died.

There are also a number of specimens of the ribs and shoulder-blades of buffaloes which have been penetrated by arrow-heads made from the iron hoops of casks and barrels. Only by seeing these, and other examples of the execution by

arrows, can it be realized what a formidable weapon the bow becomes in skilled hands.

Besides the specimens exhibiting the effects of missiles there are others, which show the different stages of the processes of repair, and the several morbid conditions which may interfere with their favorable termination—specimens derived from surgical operations of every character—calculi, tumors, casts in plaster and wax, photographs and drawings representing the mutilations resulting from injuries, weapons and projectiles used and unused, surgical instruments, models of ambulances, stretchers, &c.

Arranged on the walls of the hall above the cases is a small gallery of paintings principally of various tumors, originally a part of the Gibson cabinet.

Altogether it may be safely asserted that in the illustration of military surgery this section exceeds any other similar collection in the world, a fact which has been frequently and freely admitted by distinguished foreign surgeons and physicians well acquainted with the subject who have visited the Museum. In this section is also a series of specimens illustrative of veterinary surgery.

The medical section consists of about twelve hundred specimens, the greater part of which exhibit the pathological condition of the internal organs in camp fevers, chronic dysentery, and other diseases incident to life on the tented field.

Subsequent to the late war, however, many specimens have been collected exhibiting the morbid anatomy of the diseases in civil life.

The anatomical section consists of eleven hundred and twenty specimens, and of these about one thousand are crania, mostly of North American Indians, it being considered that the opportunities presented for the study of the ethnological characteristics of the Indian race were too important to be neglected. In this collection are a large number of skeletons and skulls of the mound-builders from the valley of the

Mississippi, Florida, and the West, which have attracted so much attention among ethnologists. Considerable attention has been paid to the study of this collection, for which an apartment has been fitted up and provided with the necessary instruments and appliances for conducting investigations of this kind. Already the greater part of the crania have been measured and their special characteristics recorded.

In a circular order issued to the medical staff of the army under date of July 24, 1873, the following reference is made to this section:

The Museum possesses numerous crania; but it is the opinion of anthropologists that inferences must be made very cautiously from measurements that do not represent large averages. It is desired that every opportunity be improved of adding to the collection of human skulls. Such labors as those of Surgeon Swift and of Acting Assistant Surgeon Comfort, in exploring the tumuli near Vicksburg and in Dakota, and adding scores of aboriginal crania and skeletons to the collection of the Museum, are deserving of commendation, and should excite emulation.

The section of comparative anatomy has been added since the war; it numbers over one thousand specimens, principally in comparative osteology. The means at the disposal of the Museum have not permitted a very rapid growth of this section, but even with this drawback in a few years it will become an important aid to the study of comparative anatomy in this country. A curious feature in this section is a collection of monstrosities, such as skeletons of chickens, ducks, pigs, &c., with two bodies and one head, or *vice versa*, along with other equally interesting freaks of development.

In the miscellaneous section are to be seen such articles as necklaces made of the ends of human fingers, lower jaws trimmed with beads, and scalps taken as trophies by the Indians from their enemies slain in battle; bows, arrows, pipes, strings of wampum, and many other articles too numerous to mention.

Conveniently situated in the Museum hall are several large tables, on which are arranged the various publications of the Surgeon General's Office—catalogues of the Museum, volumes of photographs of patients who have been subjected to various surgical operations, photomicrographs, and a large collection of stereoscopic views of battle-fields, hospitals, &c., with a number of stereoscopes for the use of visitors. There are also constantly in attendance one or more ushers to answer questions and give any information that visitors may desire in regard to the Museum.

Since the war, the number of specimens received from physicians and surgeons in civil practice throughout the country is constantly increasing; they are beginning to realize that there is no place in the country where pathological preparations of all kinds are more likely to be permanently preserved, or where they can be more serviceable for future comparison and study, than in this institution.

Donations are received from all sources far and near. All contributions should be sent by express, addressed to the Surgeon General, U. S. A., or to the Army Medical Museum, Washington, D. C., and a history or description of each spe-

cimen transmitted by mail. The expense of expressage will be defrayed in Washington, and as soon as the donation is received a letter of acknowledgment will be sent to the donor, giving the Museum number by which the contribution will be known.

All specimens are prepared under the immediate supervision of, or by the direction of, the curator, and each specimen and its history are numbered so that the specimens can at any time be identified; and in future publications of the office the donors will receive full credit for their contributions to the Museum and to the surgical and medical statistics of the office.

Such is a brief allusion to some of the most important circumstances and objects connected with the Army Medical Museum at Washington. Although, perhaps, the least known of all the Government institutions here that are open to the public, it is visited annually by upward of twenty-six thousand persons—physicians, soldiers, statesmen, and citizens of every grade and profession. Distinguished savants from foreign countries have come here expressly to see this unique collection, a lasting monument to the progressive spirit, industry, and humanity of the Great Republic.

• IMPORTANT CHANGES IN THE POSTAL LAWS.

The following are the more important sections of the act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and seventy-five, and for other purposes:

SEC. 4. That the Revised Statutes of the United States shall not be published by the United States in any newspaper, anything in existing laws to the contrary notwithstanding,

SEC. 5. That on and after the first day of January, eighteen hundred and seventy-five, all newspapers and periodical publications mailed from a known office of publication or news agency, and addressed to regular subscribers or news agents, postage shall be charged at the following rates: On newspapers and

periodical publications, issued weekly and more frequently than once a week, two cents for each pound or fraction thereof, and on those issued less frequently than once a week, three cents for each pound or fraction thereof: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be held to change or amend section ninety-nine* of the act entitled "An act to revise, consolidate, and amend the statutes relating to the Post Office Department," approved June eight, eighteen hundred and seventy-two.

*SEC. 99. That the rate of postage on newspapers, excepting weeklies, periodicals not exceeding two ounces in weight, and circulars, when the same are deposited in a letter-carrier office for delivery by the office or its carriers, shall be uniform at one cent each; but periodicals weighing more than two ounces shall be subject to a postage of two cents each, and these rates shall be prepaid by stamps.

SEC. 6. That on and after the first day of January, eighteen hundred and seventy-five, upon the receipt of such newspapers and periodical publications at the office of mailing they shall be weighed in bulk and postage paid thereon by a special adhesive stamp to be devised and furnished by the Postmaster General, which shall be affixed to such matter, or to the sack containing the same, or upon a memorandum of such mailing, or otherwise, as the Postmaster General may from time to time provide by regulation.

SEC. 7. That newspapers, one copy to each actual subscriber residing within the county where the same are printed, in whole or in part, and published, shall go free through the mails; but the same shall not be delivered at letter-carrier offices, or distributed by carriers unless postage is paid thereon as by law provided.

SEC. 8. That all mailable matter of the third-class, referred to in section one hundred and thirty-three* of the act entitled "An act to revise, consolidate, and amend the statutes relating to the Post Office Department," approved June eight, eighteen hundred and seventy-two, may weigh not exceeding four pounds for each package thereof, and postage shall be charged thereon at the rate of one cent for each two ounces or fraction thereof; but nothing herein contained shall be held to change or amend section one hundred and thirty-four† of said act.

SEC. 9. That the Postmaster General, when in his judgment it shall be necessary, may prescribe by regulation an affidavit in form to be taken by each publisher of any newspaper or periodical publication sent through the mails un-

der the provisions of this act, or news agent who distributes any of such newspapers or periodical publications under the provisions of this act, or employee of such publisher or news agent stating that he will not send, or knowingly permit to be sent through the mails, any copy or copies of such newspaper or periodical publications except to regular subscribers thereto or news agents without prepayment of the postage thereon at the rate of one cent for each two ounces or fractional parts thereof, and if such publisher or news agent or employee of such publisher or news agent, when required by the Postmaster General or any special agent of the Post Office Department to make such affidavit, shall refuse so to do, and shall thereafter, without having made such affidavit, deposit any newspapers in the mail for transmission, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be fined not exceeding one thousand dollars for each refusal; and if any such person shall knowingly and willfully mail any such matter without the payment of postage as provided by this act, or procure the same to be done with the intent to avoid the prepayment of postage thereon; or if any postmaster or post office official shall knowingly permit any such matter to be mailed without the prepayment of postage as provided in this act, and in violation of the provisions of the same, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars or imprisoned not exceeding one year, one or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 10. That so much of this act as changes the rate of postage on newspapers and periodical publications shall not take effect until the first day of January next.

SEC. 12. That section two hundred and forty-five, section two hundred and forty-six, section two hundred and forty-seven, section two hundred and fifty-one, and section two hundred and fifty-three of the act entitled "An act to revise, consolidate, and amend the statutes relating to the Post Office Department," approved June eight, eighteen hundred and seventy-two, be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 245. That every* proposal for carrying the mail shall be accompanied by the bond of the bidder, with sureties approved by a postmaster, and in cases where the amount of the bond exceeds five thousand dollars, by a postmaster of the first, second, or third-class, in a

*SEC. 133. That mailable matter of the third-class shall embrace all pamphlets, occasional publications, transient newspapers, magazines, handbills, posters, unsealed circulars, prospectuses, books, book-manuscripts, proof-sheets, corrected proof-sheets, maps, prints, engravings, blanks, flexible patterns, samples of merchandise not exceeding twelve ounces in weight, sample cards, phonographic paper, letter envelopes, postal envelopes and wrappers, cards, plain and ornamental paper, photographic representations of different types, seeds, cuttings, bulbs, roots, scions, and all other matter which may be declared mailable by law, and all other articles not above the weight prescribed by law, which are not, from their form or nature, liable to destroy, deface, or otherwise injure the contents of the mail-bag or the person of any one engaged in the postal service. All liquids, poisons, glass, explosive materials, and obscene books shall be excluded from the mails.

†SEC. 134. That no package weighing more than four pounds shall be received for conveyance by mail, except books published or circulated by order of Congress.

sum to be designated by the Postmaster General in the advertisement of each route; to which bond a condition shall be annexed, that if the said bidder shall, within such time after his bid is accepted as the Postmaster General shall prescribe enter into a contract with the United States of America with good and sufficient sureties, to be approved by the Postmaster General, to perform the service proposed in his said bid, and, further, that he shall perform the said service according to his contract, then the said obligation to be void, otherwise to be in full force and obligation in law, and in case of failure of any bidder to enter into such contract to perform the service, or, having executed a contract, in case of failure to perform the service according to his contract, he and his sureties shall be liable for the amount of said bond as liquidated damages, to be recovered in an action of debt on the said bond. No proposal shall be considered unless it shall be accompanied by such bond, and there shall have been affixed to said proposal the oath of the bidder taken before an officer qualified to administer oaths, that he has the ability, peculiarly, to fulfill his obligations, and that the bid is made in good faith, and with the intention to enter into contract and perform the service in case his bid is accepted."

"SEC. 246. That before the bond of a bidder, provided for in the aforesaid section, is approved there shall be indorsed thereon the oaths of the sureties therein taken before an officer qualified to administer oaths, that they are owners of real estate worth, in the aggregate, a sum double the amount of the said bond, over and above all debts due and owing by them, and all judgments, mortgages, and executions against them after allowing all exemptions of every character whatever."

"SEC. 247. That any postmaster who shall affix his signature to the approval of any bond of a bidder or to the certificate of sufficiency of sureties in any contract before the said bond or contract is signed by the bidder or contractor and his sureties, or shall knowingly, or without the exercise of due diligence, approve any bond of a bidder with insufficient sureties, or shall knowingly make any false or fraudulent certificate, shall be forthwith dismissed from office, and be thereafter disqualified from holding the office of postmaster, and shall also be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars

or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both."

"SEC. 251. That after any regular bidder whose bid has been accepted shall fail to enter into contract for the transportation of the mails according to his proposal, or, having entered into contract, shall fail to commence the performance of the service stipulated in his or their contract, as therein provided, the Postmaster General shall proceed to contract with the next lowest bidder for the same service, who will enter into a contract for the performance thereof unless the Postmaster General shall consider such bid too high, in which case he shall readvertise such service. And if any bidder whose bid has been accepted, and who has entered into a contract to perform the service according to his proposal and in pursuance of his contract, has entered upon the performance of the service to the satisfaction of the Postmaster General, shall subsequently fail or refuse to perform the service according to his contract, the Postmaster General shall proceed to contract with the next lowest bidder for such service under the advertisement thereof, (unless the Postmaster General shall consider such bid too high,) who will enter contract and give bond with sureties, to be approved by the Postmaster General, for the faithful performance thereof, in the same penalty and with the same terms and conditions thereto annexed as were stated and contained in the bond which accompanied his bid; but in case each and every of the next lowest bidders for such service, whose respective bids are not considered too high by the Postmaster General, shall refuse to enter into contract and give bond, as herein required, for the faithful performance of his contract the Postmaster General shall immediately advertise for proposals to perform the service on said route.

"Whenever an accepted bidder shall fail to enter into contract, or a contractor on any mail route shall fail or refuse to perform the service on said route according to his contract, or when a new route shall be established, or new service required, or when, from any other cause, there shall not be a contractor legally bound or required to perform such service, the Postmaster General may make a temporary contract for carrying the mail on such route without advertisement for such period as may be necessary, not in any case exceeding six months, until the service shall have commenced under a contract made according to law: *Provided, however,* That the

Postmaster General shall not employ temporary service on any route at a higher price than that paid to the contractor who shall have performed the service during the last preceding regular contract term. And in all cases of regular contracts hereafter made, the contract may, in the discretion of the Postmaster General, be continued in force beyond its express terms for a period not exceeding six months, until a new contract with the same or other contractors shall be made by the Postmaster General."

"SEC. 253. That hereafter all bidders upon every mail route for the transportation of the mails upon the same, where the annual compensation for the service on such route at the time exceeds the sum of five thousand dollars, shall accompany their bids with a certified check or draft, payable to the order of the Postmaster General, upon some solvent national bank, which check or draft shall not be less than five per centum on the amount of the annual pay on said route at the time such bid is made, and in case of new or modified service, not less than five per centum of the amount of the bond of the bidder required to accompany his bid, if the amount of the said bond exceeds five thousand dollars. In case any bidder, on being awarded any such contract, shall fail to execute the same, with good and sufficient sureties, according to the terms on which such bid was made and accepted, and enter upon the performance of the service to the satisfaction of the Postmaster General, such bidder shall, in addition to his liability on his bond accompanying his bid, forfeit the amount so deposited to the United States, and the same shall forthwith be paid into the Treasury for the use of the Post Office Department; but if such contract shall be duly executed and the service entered upon as aforesaid, such draft or check so deposited, and the checks or drafts deposited by all other bidders on the same route, shall be returned to the respective bidders making such deposits. No proposals for the transportation of the mails, where the amount of the bond required to accompany the same shall exceed five thousand dollars, shall be considered, unless accompanied with the check or draft herein required, together with the bond required by a preceding section: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed or intended to affect any penalties or forfeitures which have heretofore accrued under the provisions of the sections hereby amended."

SEC. 13. That hereafter the postage

on public documents mailed by any member of Congress, the President, or head of any Executive Department shall be ten cents for each bound volume, and on unbound documents the same rate as that on newspapers mailed from a known office of publication to regular subscribers; and the words "Public Document" written or printed thereon, or on the wrapper thereof, and certified by the signature of any member of Congress, or by that of the President, or head of any Executive Department shall be deemed a sufficient certificate that the same is a public document; and the term "public document" is hereby defined to be all publications printed by order of Congress, or either House thereof: *Provided*, That the postage on each copy of the daily *Congressional Record* mailed from the city of Washington as transient matter shall be one cent.

Approved June 23, 1874.

Sections one, two, and three contain appropriations, itemized, that amount, in the aggregate, to forty-one million two hundred and fifty-three thousand nine hundred and thirty-three dollars, of which five million four hundred and ninety-seven thousand eight hundred and forty-two dollars are for estimated deficiencies in excess of the revenues of the Post Office Department. Seven hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars are for ocean steamship mail service, one hundred and seventy-three thousand eight hundred and seventy dollars are for the manufacture and distribution of postal cards, and one million ten thousand dollars for official stamps and envelopes for the use of the Department. Section eleven relates to the salaries of postmasters, containing a few modifications of the former law.

The changes in the law, embraced in section twelve, are designed to put an end to "straw bids" and improve the mail letting branch of the service very materially.

THE White League organizations are branches of the Democratic party—the purpose of the two organizations being really the same, the defeat of the Republican party through violence, and its final overthrow, and the re-establishment of the Democratic party in authority at Washington.—*N. O. Republican*.

OFFICIAL INTEGRITY.

In looking over the new platforms of Democratic State conventions the critic will be surprised to find in each of them the same old charge of official defalcations under Republican administrations. After investigations were demanded and granted on the charges made against the War and the Navy Departments with the most satisfactory results, and after a thorough examination of the books, records, printing bureau, and money vaults of the United States Treasury and sub-treasuries without discovering the loss of a dollar that had not already been officially reported and published to the world, the "ancient" Democracy must be hard pushed to find charges against the party in power before they would renew the exploded theme of official defalcations and malfeasance. These committees of investigation were appointed by Congress, and were composed of Democratic and Republican members, who were afforded every possible facility in the prosecution of their investigations. On the committee investigating the Treasury Department were two prominent bankers, who were supposed to lean strongly toward the Democratic side of the House. Yet they found not even a minor "irregularity" that had not already been reported, and the defaulter arrested, tried, convicted, and punished.

An official report of losses to the Government by defalcations of officials was made by Mr. Richardson, late Secretary of the Treasury, assisted by the Commissioners of Internal Revenue and Customs, the Comptroller of the Currency, and the United States Treasurer, each basing his report on the records and books of his bureau. The result is as follows:

From the statement of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, comparing total receipts of the office for the three years from March 3, 1869, to March 3, 1872, with the portion of the receipts

that had not then been paid into the Treasury, as per schedule furnished, it appeared that the cash balances outstanding against late collectors of internal revenue during that period amounted to somewhat less than one-tenth of one per cent. of the amount paid into the Treasury. The Commissioner added, and the books of the office show that his statement has been very nearly verified, that "of the latter amount it is estimated that not less than four-fifths will eventually be paid either by the parties themselves or by their sureties, reducing the ultimate loss to the Government, during the period mentioned, to less than one-fiftieth of one per cent., or less than two dollars in ten thousand dollars."

According to the statement from the books and records of the Commissioner of Customs, showing the amount of money collected from customs for the period of two years and three-fourths of a year, from the 1st of April, 1869, to the 31st of December, 1871, compared with the balances outstanding against officers engaged in the collection of customs during the period mentioned, the latter is about one-fifty-fifth part of one per cent. of the former. The estimated ultimate loss to the Government was one two-hundredth part of one per cent., or less than five dollars in one hundred thousand dollars.

The Comptroller of the Currency furnished a schedule of all the national banks that had failed during the three years from June 1, 1869, to June 1, 1872, with their capital, the amount of claims proved, and the dividends paid on the claims; from which it appears that the estimated average annual losses of these years were from twenty-one thousand seven hundred dollars to forty thousand one hundred dollars, of which the mean is thirty thousand nine hundred dollars. This, based on a constant average amount of deposits of \$574,300,000, shows

the ratio of annual loss to creditors to be the one one-hundred-and-eighty-sixth part of one per cent. of such deposits, equivalent to five dollars and three-eighths of a dollar in one hundred thousand dollars.

The United States Treasurer, General Spinner, furnishes a statement showing the total amount of money entries as they appear on the books in his office, covering a period of eleven and one-half years, from June 30, 1861, to January 9, 1872, to be \$55,104,232.282 84. The loss during these eleven years was \$55,057 45, or less than one dollar to each million of dollars that passed through the hands of the Treasurer and his subordinates.

These statements will be accepted, we think, by all reasonable minds as conclusive on the subject of defalcations. Since the dates included in each division of the report no defalcation has occurred, to the amount of a dollar, in the United States Treasury; and none in the Bureaus of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, or of the Collector of Customs of any importance. Irregularities in the

receipts and some few losses have grown out of the paralysis in business following the panic of September last; but these will, in nearly every case, be made good. The very fact that the internal revenue receipts for the last fiscal year exceeded the estimates of the Commissioner by about ten million dollars goes far to establish the integrity and fidelity of all connected with that department of the Government.

Compared with transactions in private business these results show fewer losses than are met with in the best regulated and most cautious corporate bodies engaged in railroad, manufacturing, or other enterprises, or among business firms who scrupulously superintend their own mercantile affairs.

Altogether the six and a half years of President Grant's administration that have already passed into history have carried with them a record of official integrity which may well command the admiration of the forty-two millions of people who mainly furnish the annual revenues.

HISTORICAL INCIDENTS OF THE GREAT REBELLION.

Time passes rapidly. The events of Fort Sumter, Bull Run, and Ball's Bluff seem to have occurred but yesterday. Yet what a history has the Union made since those periods! The Union saved; the Government stronger than ever before; eleven millions of people added to the population, and the child of ten at the commencement of the war now in the vigor of manhood, engaged in the active pursuits of life; while agricultural products, manufacturing industries, and the wealth of the nation have nearly doubled.

Since the first gun was fired on Fort Sumter we have built over 40,000 miles of railroad, two and a half times the entire length of the railways of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at a cost, including the rolling stock, of about one thousand eight hundred million dollars, or

five hundred million dollars more than the cash value of the entire commercial shipping of the world; and increased in railways, factories, and agricultural machinery nearly double the amount in value of all the world's shipping. Out of all this has grown up a vast inter-State commerce, affording one of the most gigantic systems of absolute free trade among a free people the world has ever known.

PATRIOTISM.

In reviewing the incidents of the rebellion—forced as it was upon the Government by an ill-advised and exceedingly foolish opposition to the popular will as expressed in a Presidential election—one of the first things that attracts the attention is the patriotism and promptness with which the men and the women too, God bless them, responded

to the call for armies to meet the emergency. Take one or two cases in illustration: After a number of calls for men had been made upon the States, and promptly responded to, more men were required. On the 2d of July, 1862, another call was made for 300,000 three-years men, and on August 4, still another call for 300,000 nine-months men. Under each call the quota of the State of Illinois was 24,148 men, or 52,296 in all. The Adjutant General of the State, in his report of January 1, 1862, says: "The order of the Secretary of War making the call upon the State assumed that a draft would be necessary, and in anticipating that the States would not be able to contribute their quotas of the call in July for three years' service, announced that if any State should not furnish its quota of the three-years volunteers, the deficiency would be made up by a special draft from the militia." What was the result? Apparently all the floating population were already in the army in response to previous calls. These new volunteers must come, if come at all, from the farmers and mechanics of the State. The State Adjutant General in his report adds: "Farmers were in the midst of their harvest, and it is no exaggeration to say that, animated by a common purpose, and firmly resolved on rescuing the Government, over 50,000 of them left their harvests ungathered, their tools on the benches, the plow in the furrows, and before eleven days expired the demands of the country were met, and both quotas filled." The records of the War Department at Washington corroborate these facts, and show that 58,689 men entered the service from Illinois under these two calls. Other States did as well; and no prouder record can be made of the patriotism and memory of a free people than a plain, full narrative of such facts as these. War is always to be deprecated and avoided if possible; but when the emergency comes and must be met, it is enough to know that the resources are ample.

In April, 1864, when it might reasonably have been supposed that the country had been exhausted, though the war continued, a call was made for men for a short period of service. The Governor of Ohio offered 30,000 men for active service for "one hundred days, unless sooner discharged." He issued the call, and ordered the troops to rendezvous in the most eligible places in their respective counties on the 2d of May, and to report by telegraph at 4 o'clock of the same day the number present for duty. Reports were received at 7½ o'clock that 38,000 men were in camp and clamorous to be sent forward. In twelve days these men were consolidated into forty-one regiments and one battalion of seven companies, organized, mustered, clothed, armed, equipped, and on the 16th of May were ready for transportation to the field.

STRENGTH OF THE ARMY IN 1861.

At the commencement of the war the United States army consisted of 1,098 commissioned officers and 15,304 enlisted men, scattered over the Union from the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific ocean. Of the officers, 313 deserted and joined the rebellion, while very few, if any, of the men turned against the Government.

THE FIRST WAR MOVEMENTS.

The leaders of the rebellion commenced in December, 1860, to prepare the Southern States for armed resistance to the Government, and with a wicked determination to break up the Union. Organizations under State auspices spring up everywhere over the South; and before the loyal States actually began their preparations for the defense of the Government, the South had a force larger than the army of the United States ready for the conflict. The first call for soldiers made by the Government was on the 9th of April, 1861, for ten companies from the District of Columbia. Other calls were made upon the District during the month. But disloyalty on the part of many of those who volunteered manifested itself, causing embarrassment and requiring great caution

and some tact on the part of the Government. Some refused to parade for muster; others alleged a willingness to serve in defense of the District of Columbia, but declined to muster without a guarantee that they should not be sent beyond its limits. Consent was given to these conditions, and thirty-eight companies were mustered into the United States service for three months, thirty-five under the specified conditions and three companies without conditions. It is due to these soldiers to say that the conditions were not exacted, and they did good service both within and beyond the District without protest or opposition. Subsequently some of the Maryland regiments exacted similar conditions not to go beyond the State, but these were, it is believed, the only exceptions to unconditional consent on the part of the army to render cheerful service wherever ordered to duty.

CALLS FOR VOLUNTEERS.

On the 12th of April Fort Sumter was attacked, and on the 15th the proclamation for 75,000 militia was issued. Subsequent calls were made for stipulated periods in the following order :

Date of call.	No. called.	Periods of service.	Quotas assigned.	No. obtained.
April 15, 1861.....	75,000	3 months	73,331	34,326
May 3, 1861, vols.....	42,034	3 years	611,821	714,931
May 3, 1861, regulars.....	22,714	3 months	.....	15,007
May 3, 1861, seamen.....	18,000	3 years	.....	431,568
July 22 and 25, 1861.....	500,000	6 months	.....	87,588
August 1, 1861.....	.....	3 months	.....	16,351
August 4, 1861.....	.....	3 months	.....	374,807
June 15, 1863.....	300,000	3 years	.....	186,981
October 17, 1863.....	300,000	3 months	.....	284,021
February 1, 1864.....	200,000	3 years	407,434	83,652
March 14, 1864.....	200,000	3 years	113,000	384,882
April 23, 1864.....	85,000	100 days	346,746	294,508
July 18, 1864.....	500,000	1, 2, and 3 years	290,060	.....
December 19, 1864.....	300,000	1, 2, and 3 years	2,759,049	2,690,401
Totals.....	2,942,748	.....	.....	.....

In explanation it is proper to state that in organizing troops in 1861, after the call of May 3, no formal assignment of quotas to States was made, and there was no fixed system in calling out troops. As circumstances demanded, requisitions were made upon the Governors of States. In many cases troops were tendered by Governors and accepted without calls. Authorizations to individuals and independent acceptances were given, and many troops were brought into the service in this way without said authorization passing through the State authorities. As a result of this want of a general system in calling out troops during the first year of the war, it was found necessary, before fixing the quotas under calls of 1862, to determine the quotas of the respective States for 1861. This was done by considering the number of men each State had in the field, obtained from the records of the Adjutant General of the army, and will account for the quotas assigned being greater than the number of men called for.* The calls for 500,000 men, July 22 and 25, 1861, were made under acts of Congress authorizing the President to accept. The calls in May and June, 1862, for three months men were by special authority of the President. The call of June 15, 1863, was for militia. The calls of October 17, 1863, and February 1, 1864, were combined, and the product of the draft of July, 1863, credited thereon. The call of April, 1864, was for 100 days militia. With these explanations the reader will see at a glance, by reference to the table of figures, the nature, number, and results of each call made during the war.

THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMY.

In the table on the next page the grand total of the army is given, including volunteers, regulars, and colored troops, and the number from each State, Territory, &c., with details showing the number of deaths and desertions:

*See "Final Report of the Secretary of War by the Provost Marshal General," page 160, in "Messages and Documents, War Department, part 3, 1865-'66."

FULL ROLL OF THE UNION ARMY.

Tabular Statement of the total Volunteers, Regular Army, and Colored Troops in the War of 1861, and of the Killed, Died, and Missing.

States, Territories, &c.	Total volunteers, regular army, and colored troops in the war of 1861.	Officers killed.	Men killed.	Officers died of wounds.	Men died of wounds.	Officers died of disease.	Men died of disease.	Officers deserted.	Men deserted.	Officers missing in action.	Men missing in action.	Officers accidentally killed.	Men accidentally killed.	Men executed by sentence of general court-martial.
Maine.....	64,708	116	1,620	66	1,069	65	5,479	1	2,840	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
N. Hampshire.....	33,025	91	1,066	53	531	49	2,481	1	3,705	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	32,653	68	1,133	39	662	34	2,964	1	1,689	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mass.....	126,236	274	3,624	104	2,027	80	7,824	3	8,415	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island.....	21,311	30	446	(b)	(b)	21	1,032	.....	1,074	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	53,534	97	1,094	48	663	63	3,246	2	6,281	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	404,748	427	8,695	302	5,921	222	17,185	50	33,999	7	1,407	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	67,186	106	1,251	40	317	33	7,184	6	7,184	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Penna.....	323,846	376	6,096	137	3,675	117	10,973	15	19,032	30	1,522	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	12,171	9	178	10	113	7	207	.....	958	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	42,128	16	359	17	326	39	824	.....	2,981	.....	112	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	32,043	58	741	23	331	20	1,792	2	1,269	.....	.....	1	105	4
Dist. of Col.....	15,181	3	43	1	8	.....	244	.....	701	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	37,380	280	6,283	140	4,534	159	13,195	6	13,603	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indiana.....	193,285	294	3,140	139	2,244	220	13,172	5	7,232	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	255,938	394	5,463	126	2,925	364	19,570	12	13,034	.....	.....	11	189	2
Michigan.....	87,613	154	2,554	68	1,151	78	8,421	6	6,136	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	90,888	121	2,237	67	1,393	101	6,885	3	3,230	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	23,999	29	381	7	191	26	1,650	.....	493	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iowa.....	75,788	146	1,926	69	1,313	127	8,515	4	1,474	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	108,756	89	1,461	48	767	130	7,216	15	6,983	13	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	74,961	82	1,103	30	669	124	5,121	24	6,541	.....	67	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	20,035	36	923	8	259	24	2,170	3	2,359	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	7,451	1	34	.....	57	1	298	1	758	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	31,092	27	1,264	11	920	11	2,182	5	2,658	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	545	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60	.....	124	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2,576	2	32	.....	31	2	288	.....	209	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	1,290	.....	27	.....	142	.....	102	.....	173	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	1,965	.....	22	.....	11	.....	278	.....	546	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
N. Carolina.....	3,156	.....	34	1	19	1	248	1	299	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	5,224	2	117	2	101	1	768	.....	1,240	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	8,289	8	210	3	163	1	544	7	549	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	1,080	.....	8	.....	2	.....	225	1	701	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	1,810	.....	58	2	7	2	665	5	856	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	4,903	2	61	1	44	2	205	1	237	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indian Ter.....	3,530	2	231	.....	141	.....	416	.....	247	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wash. Ter.....	964	.....	14	4	11	.....	107	.....	397	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota Ter.....	206	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska Ter.....	3,157	1	5	.....	8	1	122	1	173	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
N. Mex. Ter.....	2,385	.....	7	1	15	1	159	.....	332	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
U. S. vols.*.....	(a)	.....	7	.....	5	.....	352	.....	605	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hanc't corps.....	(a)	.....	7	.....	2	.....	406	1	2,348	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Miss. Marine Brigade.....	(a)	3	136	2	107	4	181	1	219	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vet. R. Corps.....	60,508	1	43	.....	70	11	1,269	4	3,534	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total vols.....	2,607,695	3,345	54,056	1,549	32,095	2,141	152,013	187	170,029	72	4,983	12	294	6
Reg. army.....	67,000	157	1,830	(b)	(b)	83	2,749	5	16,360	33	1,266	.....	.....	1
Col. troops.....	180,017	124	1,790	46	1,037	90	26,211	24	12,440	18	1,275	.....	.....	.....
Grand total.....	2,854,712	3,626	57,736	1,595	33,132	2,314	181,973	216	198,829	123	6,626	12	294	7

*Penitent rebels. (a) Credited to the different States. (b) Included in killed.

The preceding table is compiled with great care from the official rolls and documents returned after the close of the war; but corrections up to the present date at the War Department have reduced the grand total to 2,757,598, and these figures are accepted as the official return up to the present time. To the thoughtful reader this table affords much food for reflection. Some of its suggestive features will be briefly noticed in a subsequent part of this paper.

THE PATRIOTIC VETERAN VOLUNTEER SERVICE.

A large proportion of the men who served in the early part of the war re-enlisted. These patriots were distinguished by "service chevrons," and were reorganized in 1843 and 1844 as veteran volunteers. Though they were prompted largely by a pure spirit of patriotism, the Government offered inducements which largely increased the veteran volunteer service. Among these inducements were:

1. A thirty days furlough to officers and men of the reorganizations re-enlisting for three years. Where a large proportion re-enlisted the regiment was sent home in a body at Government expense. During its stay the regiment was reorganized and its ranks recruited.

2. A bounty of \$400 was paid by installments to each re-enlisted soldier. If three years service should not be required no abatement of the full bounty would be made.

By this expedient over 136,000 tried soldiers, whose services would otherwise have been lost, were secured, and capable and experienced officers continued in the service. It may safely be asserted that the veterans thus reorganized and retained performed in the closely contested subsequent campaigns a part essential to the final success which attended our arms. In his official report of 1864 the Secretary of War said in relation to this subject: "I know of no operation connected with the recruitment of the army which has resulted in more advantage to the service than the

one referred to." The Provost Marshal General of the United States army, James B. Fry, in his final report in 1866, says: "The patriotic determination of these troops who had taken a prominent part in the war to continue in it until brought to a satisfactory close was the foundation of the success which attended this enterprise. Its advantages were not only those resulting from the actual military force thus attained; it produced a favorable effect on the recruiting service generally, and was as encouraging to the friends of the Government as it was discouraging to the insurgents."

THE COLORED TROOPS.

At the commencement of the rebellion the United States army was composed exclusively of white men. The first legislation of Congress affecting colored men was the act approved March 3, 1862. It prohibited officers or persons in the military service from returning fugitives from service or labor under a penalty of court martial and dismissal. This was followed by an act approved July 17, 1862, authorizing the President to receive into the service of the United States, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp duty or other labor, or any military or naval service for which they were found competent, persons of African descent; and provided that such persons should be enrolled and organized, under such regulations, not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws, as the President might prescribe. The act also directed that when any man or boy of African descent shall owe service by the laws of any State to any person who during the rebellion had levied war or borne arms against the United States, or had adhered to the enemies of the Union, giving them aid and comfort, shall render any such service as is provided for in this act, "he, his mother, and his wife and children shall forever thereafter be free, any law, usage, or custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding: *Provided*, That the mother, wife, and children of such man or boy of African descent

shall not be made free except where such mother, wife, or children owe service or labor to some person who during the present rebellion has borne arms against the United States, or adhered to their enemies by giving them aid and comfort"—colored men so employed to receive the pay and rations usual in the army.

An act approved July 17, 1862, provided that whosoever shall commit treason "shall suffer death," and all his slaves shall be "declared free;" and that all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion, or in any way give aid and comfort thereto, who may escape or take refuge within the lines of the Union army, or who may be captured from or be deserted by such persons, or be found within places occupied by rebel forces, and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves. The same act further provides that no slave escaping from one State or Territory to another shall be delivered up or impeded or hindered in his liberty except for crime, and officers, or others connected with the army, were not allowed to surrender or deliver up any such person under penalty of dismissal.

This act also declares that "the President of the United States is authorized to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion; and for this purpose he may organize and use them in such manner as he may judge best for the public welfare."

Under these acts the organization of colored regiments was commenced and continued. The aggregate enlistment amounted to the very large number of 180,017 men; and it is due to this branch of the army to say that they more than met the highest expectations as men and soldiers.

MAGNITUDE OF THE ARMY.

The magnitude of the Union army in

the war of 1861 may be comprehended when compared with the strength of our armies engaged in former wars. The following is the relative strength of each:

Number of soldiers of the war of the revolution, (1775 to 1783).....	278,021
War with Great Britain, (1812 to 1815,) viz:	
Soldiers, sailors, and marines serving twelve months or more.....	63,179
Number of militia serving six months or more.....	66,325
Number of militia serving three months or more.....	125,643
Number of militia serving one month or more.....	125,307
Number of militia serving less than one month.....	147,200
	527,654
Number of soldiers serving in Mexican war, 1846-'47.....	73,200
Total in wars of 1775, 1812, and 1846.....	878,935
Total in war of 1860.....	2,757,598
Or more than three times the total number in the three previous armies, including militia, marines, and sailors!	

SOME OF THE BITTER FRUITS OF THE REBELLION.

The most deplorable of these bitter fruits appear in the mortality columns of the preceding table. It is there shown that the vast number of 279,689 officers and men were killed or died in the service. To these add the seriously suggestive columns of the "missing in action"—6,749 officers and men—the largest portion of whom, it is well known, were captured and died in rebel prisons—the hardest fate of all.

There was, it is reasonable to suppose, as great if not a larger mortality on the other side. And yet the wayward and wickedly disposed members of Southern "White Leagues" seem anxious to provoke the Government to another war and their own extermination.

THE PENSION ROLLS—FRUITS OF THE REBELLION.

The Government has paid in pensions alone since the commencement of the war, including the fiscal year ended June 30, 1874, over \$251,000,000. Deducting \$5,000,000 for former pensioners, we have left \$246,000,000 paid in pensions growing out of the rebellion, and with the yearly additions to the pension rolls, the annual payments will not be less than

\$39,000,000 for some years to come. What a vast amount of silent suffering, for which no compensation can be made, do those figures indicate on the part of invalids, widows, orphans, and dependent mothers and fathers!

The Commissioner of Pensions in his last annual report gives the following as the number of pensioners on the rolls:

Army invalids.....	99,804
Army widows and dependent relatives.....	112,088
Survivors of the war of 1812.....	18,266
Widows of soldiers of the war of 1812....	5,053
Navy invalids.....	1,430
Navy widows and dependent relatives.....	1,770

Total..... 238,411

The following table presents the total number of pensioners—invalid soldiers, widows, and dependent relatives—since the commencement of the war:

Total number of pensioners and amounts paid.

Year.	Invalid soldiers.		Widows and dependent relatives.		Total.	
	Number on roll.	Amount paid.	Number on roll.	Amount paid.	Number on roll.	Amount paid.
1861.....	5,245	\$480,371 95	5,494	\$698,847 49	10,739	\$1,089,219 75
1862.....	4,341	368,358 33	3,818	482,451 61	8,159	\$850,819 94
1863.....	7,821	447,544 64	6,970	596,809 83	14,791	1,044,354 47
1864.....	23,479	1,449,616 71	27,656	3,072,065 47	51,135	4,521,682 18
1865.....	55,889	2,216,954 30	50,106	6,325,939 97	105,995	8,542,895 27
1866.....	55,652	3,901,562 01	71,070	9,348,418 16	126,722	13,250,980 17
1867.....	69,595	6,548,151 32	83,618	12,133,569 47	153,213	18,681,711 79
1868.....	73,937	7,627,394 13	93,686	16,452,069 05	167,623	24,079,463 18
1869.....	82,859	9,025,058 17	105,104	18,320,039 92	187,963	28,445,089 09
1870.....	56,521	8,137,392 43	111,163	18,643,449 38	167,684	27,780,811 81
1871.....	56,521	8,137,392 43	111,163	18,643,449 38	167,684	27,780,811 81
1872.....	113,954	12,274,404 47	118,271	17,874,334 82	232,225	30,165,341 03
1873.....	119,500	12,604,404 47	118,911	16,380,885 13	238,411	29,186,289 62

THE PUBLIC DEBT—FRUITS OF THE REBELLION.

The rebellion entailed a debt of \$2,500,000,000 upon the Government to be paid by the people. About \$400,000,000 of this has already been paid. The cost of the war during the most extended operations was over three million dollars per day. The reduction of this enormous burden upon the people is one of the main efforts of the party in power, and so far the results in the reduction of principal and interest have been highly satisfactory.

OTHER BITTER FRUITS OF THE REBELLION.

Aside from the principal of the public debt and pensions there are other and heavy expenses growing annually out of the rebellion. The following are the amounts paid during the fiscal year 1873 on account of expenses growing directly out of the late war. A list of "items" growing out of the rebellion, of about as large an aggregate amount, has, so far, to be paid each year by the Government:

Joint Select Committee on Alleged Outrages in Southern States.....	\$1,087 20
Investigations in relation to elections in Louisiana and Arkansas.....	20,000 00
Payment of judgments Court of Claims.....	489,034 70
Southern Claims Commission.....	52,800 04
Tribunal of arbitration at Geneva.....	62,210 22
Expenses of national currency.....	181,654 84
Expenses of national loan.....	2,806,863 94
Refunding national debt.....	54,726 83
Cost of assessing and collecting internal revenue, including payments of drawbacks and amounts illegally collected....	6,687,039 49
Defending claims for cotton seized.....	52 95
Salaries of direct tax commissioners.....	540 55
Expenses of collecting direct taxes in Delaware.....	22 46
Repayment for lands sold for direct taxes.....	9,075 00
Return of proceeds of captured and abandoned property.....	1,960,679 26
Collection of captured and abandoned property, records and evidence respecting same.....	84,450 50
Refunding internal taxes illegally collected.....	1,507 44
Refunding proceeds of cotton seized.....	3,282 00
Premium on bonds purchased in currency.....	5,105,919 99
Payment of interest on the public debt.....	104,750,688 44
Bounties.....	465,449 14
Keeping, transporting, and supplying prisoners of war.....	258,080 11

Military telegraph.....	17,220 36
National cemeteries.....	431 219 22
Maintenance of steam-rans.....	14,548 93
Gunboats on Western rivers.....	33,498 28
Providing for comfort of sick and discharged soldiers.....	1,305 79
Payment of stoppages or fines due National Asylum for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.....	193,750 59
Traveling expenses of California and Nevada volunteers.....	28,000 00
Traveling expenses of First Michigan cavalry.....	500 00
Commutation of rations to prisoners of war in rebel States.....	2,000 00
Draft and substitute fund.....	42,792 84
Appliances of disabled soldiers.....	8,000 00
Transportation of insane volunteer soldiers.....	1,000 00
Support of Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum, Washington, D. C.	72,000 00
Support of Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, (regular).....	93,924 79
Support of Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, (transfer).....	12,871 95
Horses and other property lost in the military service.....	99,975 85
Reimbursing State of Kansas for military expenses.....	336,817 37
Reimbursing State of Kentucky for military expenses.....	525,258 72
Refunding to States expenses incurred in raising volunteers.....	753,110 31
Defraying expenses of minutemen and volunteers in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky.....	28,762 32
Supplying arms and munitions of war to loyal citizens in revolted States.....	915 38
Capture of Jefferson Davis.....	2,051 00
Claims of loyal citizens for supplies furnished during the rebellion.....	927,910 19
Bounty for destruction of enemy's vessels.....	133,892 28
Payment to captors of the rebel ram Albemarle.....	202,912 93
Payment to officers and crew of the United States steamer Kearsarge.....	141,377 00
Relief acts, (various).....	797,748 78
Total.....	127,902,989 95

These are only some of the more prominent of the bitter fruits of the rebellion. But there is a bright side, a silver lining, and we shall glance rapidly at some of

THE BETTER FRUITS OF THE WAR.

These are presented so pleasantly by our honored citizen, Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, that we shall let him tell the story. In a speech at Burlington, Vermont, a few weeks ago, he spoke as follows:

"How shall I sum up the triumphs of your victory? The immediate and visible are: The destruction of the institution of slavery, which neither the wisdom of the fathers nor the prayers and efforts of nearly a century had been able to unfasten from the framework of the

Republic; the overthrow of a social and political aristocracy founded upon slavery and tending to destroy the necessary conditions of free government, the school, and the dignity of free labor; the insertion in the national Constitution of the three perpetual guarantees of personal liberty, of equal civil rights, and of equal suffrage. I speak of these freely because I believe that whatever may have been the difference of opinion touching their adoption, the national party platforms of all parties in the Northern States refer to them with professions of acquiescence and respect. And there has been gained in theory, and in the fundamental laws of the old slave States, a similarity of institutions and of rights with the free North, whereby progress of the Republic will, in the long run, be made harmonious and peaceful. It is yet too soon to see the full effects of these great and beneficial changes which have been brought about or made possible by your patriotism and valor. The evil consequences of a perverse and unjust condition of society and of law can not be repaired in a day, or a year, or a decade. Time must elapse for passions to cool, animosities to die out, and opinions to adjust themselves to the new order of things. The mischiefs incidental to war and revolutions of old systems have indeed appeared. Corruptions, and tumult, and crime, whether due to inefficient administration, or to the greed and wickedness of bad men of all parties, will have their transient day and then disappear if the faith of the nation holds fast to the principles of liberty and equal rights for which so much treasure and so many lives have been sacrificed. Then the full fruits of the great struggle and your great victory will grow and ripen. Industry and education, peace and order, justice and liberty will be the watchwords of every part of the nation, and our dear country with its solid unity of nationality and the independence and self-government of its various States under the Constitution, will, from generation to generation, stand as the best example of human government and of human progress. These, my friends, are the triumphs and trophies of which the military arm of the Government may justly claim a large share, and which, without powerful armies, could not have been secured at all."

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* says that the Southern people might as well recognize now the fact that we shall never get on our feet unless we can unite among ourselves in keeping the peace.

THE MIXED SCHOOL QUESTION IN THE SOUTH.

The Democratic party in the South pretend that the White League movement has grown out of a determination on the part of the Republican party to force the mixed school system upon the communities. This plea in justification will not stand the test of truth. The Republicans of Alabama, in their State convention at Montgomery, Alabama, a few days ago, deliberately declared in their unanimously accepted platform that "The Republican party does not desire or seek mixed schools or mixed accommodations for the colored people, but they ask that in all of these the advantages shall be equal." This is clear and pointed on the subject.

This evidence may be confirmed, if confirmation is considered necessary, by the statements of the Southern Republican press and by the declarations of colored representative men. The editor of the *Florence (Ala.) Republican*, August 11, says:

The assertions of Democrats that the Republican party desire mixed schools, social equality, &c., are void of truth and full of slanderous misrepresentations, intended and manufactured for the sole purpose of deceiving and leading astray the voters of Alabama. It certainly stands to-day without a parallel in the history of the vile deceptions and contemptible farces practiced by political parties. We have yet to see or hear of a Republican newspaper in the State, or a prominent Republican speaker, recognized by the party as reflecting the sentiments of the party, who advocates MIXED SCHOOLS, SOCIAL EQUALITY, or the RACE ISSUE; and we defy the Democratic party of Alabama to produce a single instance of the kind. The Democrats themselves have made these issues, they have manufactured these false theories, and when they begin to see the just indignation of the people and their united determination to defeat the party who bring forward these infamous measures and invent and defend these dangerous doctrines, they at once begin to try to palm off on the Republican party the authorship of their own detestable and corrupt productions.

The sentiments of the colored race on

the subject of mixed schools are expressed in a speech by Charles Smith, a representative colored man, delivered at a Republican meeting July 20, at Union Springs, Alabama. "I wish to define my position," he said, "I desire to be understood, for I have been misrepresented by the Democratic orators who spoke in this hall a week ago." He then endeavored to define his position regarding civil rights, and said all the colored people want is civil and political equality before the law; they do not wish to deprive the white man of a single right, but they ask the same rights under the whites. "Arm me and my race," he exclaimed, "equally, and we are not afraid to start with you in the race of life." He then alluded to the race issue, regarding which he said that the men who cry for war are not the men who will do the fighting. He don't believe that the Christian white people want a war. He would pray to God that dark hour would never come over this Southern country when the blood of the white and colored people would be shed in warfare. Picturing the direful consequences of a war of races, the speaker continued: "Ask the men who did the fighting in the last war. Ask the widows and orphans of our soldiers do they want another war. Ask the maimed and crippled, and see whether they are in favor of war. Go to Virginia and kneel at the sacred tomb of the illustrious Lee, and bring back the response to your prayer—will that response be for war? Ask God if he desires that this Southern soil be drenched in blood. Let us have peace—peace now and forever. The day when I utter a sentiment that may beget distrust or strife, may on that day, I say, my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. Let us inscribe on our banner: 'Peace on earth, and good will toward men.' This is no time for war. This is a time to go to work and build up the waste and desolate places of this country. I want the col-

ored people treated with a degree of fairness. We want neither mixed schools nor mixed churches. I am in favor of separate schools for colored children. I must own up that I have not carefully read the civil rights bill, but if that bill provides for mixed schools, I ask our representative in Congress (Rapier) here

present to vote against that bill, or to vote to strike out the clause providing for mixed schools. All we ask are equal advantages in separate schools."

After still more enlarging on this subject, the speaker concluded with this sentiment: "God give us peace, now and forevermore."

RECIPROCITY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

At the recent Republican county meeting held in Pottsville, Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

Resolved, That we are earnestly opposed to the ratification of the reciprocity treaty made by the Executive Department of the Government with the Dominion of Canada, and the ratification of which was urged on the Senate at its close before the people had an opportunity of examining its contents. Said treaty tends to free trade with not only Canada, but with all Europe, by enabling them to send their manufactures through this medium to the United States. It would really prove much more damaging to American interests than the previous treaty, which was so destructive in character that the people demanded its abrogation. It is made in the interest of the free traders and traffickers of the country, and would be deadly hostile to the producing interests of this country. Even the State of Maine, as asserted by Speaker Blaine, lost upward of fifty millions of wealth alone while it was in operation, and the revenue of the country was largely diminished.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the Constitution places the ratification of treaties made by the Executive branch of the Government, it at the same time requires the action of the House of Representatives on all measures which affect the revenue of the country—and as this treaty, in addition to its injurious effects on home industry, will, if carried into effect, deplete the National Treasury of not less than ten millions of dollars annually, which must be made up by additional taxation of our people, we earnestly demand that said treaty, before it is permitted to go into effect, shall be submitted to the House of Representatives for its approval also—and that it becomes the duty of the House to take action by entering its protest against

its going into effect without their sanction also.

The point is well taken that the Constitution of the United States "requires the action of the House of Representatives on all measures which affect the revenues of the country." This Canadian reciprocity movement has been urged upon the American administration by the Dominion authorities regularly, in one way or another, about every year since the former treaty was annulled, and the House has already called attention to this point. On the 3d of March, 1869, Mr. Schenck, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported to the House the following resolution, which, on the 23d of March, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That while this House does not admit any right in the executive and treaty-making power of the United States to conclude treaties or conventions with any foreign government by which import duties shall be mutually regulated, it is however of the opinion, and recommends to the President, that negotiations with the Government of Great Britain should be renewed and pressed, if possible, to a definite conclusion regarding commercial intercourse, and securing to our own citizens the rights claimed by them in the fisheries on the coasts of the British Provinces of America and the free navigation of the St. Lawrence river from its source to the sea.

In the debate which followed the introduction of this resolution, embracing half a dozen members, Mr. Schenck, the chairman, said: "I do not believe we ought to enter into any relations of reciprocity with the British Provinces, either through negotiations with the

Imperial Government of Great Britain or by direct treaty with the Provinces themselves, if that were possible. I believe the people of the British Provinces should be treated like all other foreigners, and made to pay the same duties on articles they import into our country that other foreigners are required to pay upon similar articles." At the same time Mr. Schenck expressed himself in favor of commercial treaties "in regard to the fisheries on the coasts of those Provinces, and in relation to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence river from its source to the sea."

Mr. Pike said: "The only reason why I drew out this expression of opinion from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means (Mr. Schenck) was the

fact that it has been published in the papers quite extensively that that committee was in favor of a renewal of the reciprocity treaty."

Mr. Schenck. "I am not authorized to speak for the rest of the members of the committee, but I am not aware of any difference of opinion between any of them and myself on that subject." Not a single member expressed himself in favor of reciprocity in the course of the debate.

The present movement, like those that have preceded it, originated in the Dominion. It is opposed to the established policy of the United States Government to treat all foreign Powers alike, and to protect the industries of its own people against the undue outside competition of half-paid labor.

THE COST OF THE GOVERNMENT—MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE "INDEPENDENT" PRESS.

It is well known that concealment of the condition of public affairs is no part of the policy of the Republican administration. The President and his Cabinet and the Congress of the United States have always invited a rigid scrutiny of their official transactions. It is, therefore, all the more criminal on the part of the opposition and so-called "Independent" press to distort the figures in reference to public expenditures and misrepresent the acts and policy of the Administration. A fair and honest criticism is always productive of good results, while a perversion of facts invariably in the end defeats the unworthy objects sought to be obtained.

That ably written journal, the *New York Tribune*, under the title of "The Cost of the Government," published, on the 14th of August last, a series of tables professing to exhibit an impartial view of the disbursements of the different departments of the Government; but which, without the explanations that should have accompanied them, are calculated to lead the reader to draw false conclusions in reference to the public

expenditures. Even the prefatory remarks by which the tables are introduced are not true, and are calculated to leave an erroneous impression on the public mind. The writer says:

"The information given by the Government on the subject is by no means what it should be, and some high officials act as though the public had no right to any knowledge whatever how their money is disposed of. These officials appear to regard themselves in the light of guardians appointed to take charge of the effects of persons incapacitated."

It is the more remarkable that the *Tribune* should permit such a charge as this to be conveyed to the public through its columns when its own correspondents in Washington have free access to all the departments of the Government, and are afforded every facility by the officials in obtaining all the facts necessary to inform the public mind as to the aggregate cost of the Government as well as the items in detail of the expenditures and the uses to which the public money is applied. If the writer had turned to the second page of the *Tribune* of June 26, 1874, he could have found complete tables under the head of "The

Cost of Government—Appropriations for Four Years—A Comparative Statement—The Expenses of the Present Year Less than those of its Immediate Predecessor," followed by a statement of the fact that those tables are "from the forthcoming volume of Mr. McPherson's Political Manual." Now it is well known that this Manual is a semi-official publication, and that it is published regularly for general circulation. Such being the facts, if the Government did not wish to give the fullest publicity to the details of its expenditures, is it probable that the Manual of Mr. McPherson, Clerk of the lower house of Congress, would, through successive years, be authorized to give to the world the facts and figures in detail which the *Tribune* charges the officials with a desire to suppress from public inspection? The *Tribune* can not find a peg in any one of the departments of the Government on which to hang its charges, and the public are fully aware of the fact.

Now let us look at the *Tribune's* figures and the statements accompanying them.

CIVIL AND MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURES.

Under this head the writer has the following:

1. The expenditures of the Government, classed under the head of Civil and Miscellaneous, have been as follows for the last six fiscal years:

Year ended.	Amount.
June 30, 1869.....	\$56,474,061 53
June 30, 1870.....	53,237,461 56
June 30, 1871.....	60,481,916 23
June 30, 1872.....	60,984,757 42
June 30, 1873.....	73,328,110 06
June 30, 1874.....	69,641,533 02

The expenditures of this class for the year 1873 were inordinately increased by the salary steal, and by the heavy deficiency bills put through the 42d Congress at its concluding session. While the appropriations for deficiencies by the third session of the 42d Congress exceeded eleven millions of dollars, those of the present Congress have been barely four millions. These facts forbid the hypothesis that there has yet been any real retrenchment in the civil and miscellaneous expenditures. The enormous rate at which those expenditures have

increased since 1861 will be seen by the following additional figures:

Year ended.	Amount
June 30, 1862.....	\$21,385,862 59
June 30, 1863.....	23,198,382 37
June 30, 1864.....	27,572,216 87
June 30, 1865.....	42,989,383 10
June 30, 1866.....	40,613,114 17
June 30, 1867.....	51,110,223 72
June 30, 1868.....	53,003,847 67

Where a young and prosperous family of three—the husband, wife, and a child—is increased each year or two by an additional "pledge of affection" is it probable that the family expenses will decrease? If the head of the family is a farmer and takes a pride in improving and developing his acres will he not cheerfully expend the necessary funds to accomplish that object; or if he is a mechanic will not his ambitious zeal prompt a continued development of facilities for his increasing business? And should it not be the policy and wisdom of the Government to meet yearly the demands of increasing population and industrial development by erecting public buildings, improving the harbor and river navigation, increasing the number of light-houses, &c., throughout the Union?

Under the head of "Civil and Miscellaneous Expenditures" of the Government are included, among other items of a similar nature, the expenses for the construction of public buildings throughout the country. On this account there was expended during the last fiscal year \$23,322,000—a larger amount probably than was spent during the last decade prior to 1861. Expenditures of this kind can in no way be considered as any part of the legitimate expenses of administering the Government. They are in the nature of investments in buildings and real estate, and would be so considered in a business point of view. Taking this into consideration the expenditures under this head instead of increasing, have, as a matter of fact, been reduced.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

The next table and accompanying remarks of the *Tribune* are as follows:

II. The cost of the War Department for the last six years has been as follows:

Year ended.	Amount.
June 30, 1869.....	\$78,301,900 61
June 30, 1870.....	57,653,675 49
June 30, 1871.....	35,799,991 82
June 30, 1872.....	35,372,157 30
June 30, 1873.....	46,323,138 31
June 30, 1874.....	42,313,927 22

In the years 1869 and 1870 reconstruction and the large sums voted to the soldiers in the shape of bounties swelled the army expenditures. The cost of the War Department for the two years 1871-'2 was \$71,000,000, and for the two years 1873-'4, \$88,600,000. We are glad to see a tendency, however slight, to retrenchment in this branch of the Government.

It is proper to say—and the *Tribune* should have stated the fact—that the expenses of the War Department, if made upon the same basis in each year indicated, would show an annual reduction instead of an increase. In other words, if the amount for the years 1871 and 1872, which appears smaller than that of 1873 and 1874, had been made upon the same basis it would appear equally as large for each of these years. For instance, in the year 1872 there was an amount of more than \$8,000,000 worth of arms sold to the French Government, which, under the law and system in practice at that time, was deducted from the gross amount of the expenditures, and the amount as here given (\$85,000,000) is the net amount after the deduction had been made. By the enactment of the law of May 8, 1872, the manner of keeping all these accounts was changed, the moneys received on account of sales of old materials being required to be deposited and covered into the United States Treasury as a miscellaneous receipt and not deducted from the expenses of the Department. Now, when any attempt is made to attack the Government on the score of increased expenditures such facts as these should not be concealed from the public.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The *Tribune's* next charge is as follows:

III. The record of the Navy Department for the six years is this:

Year ended.	Amount.
June 30, 1869.....	\$20,000,757 97
June 30, 1870.....	21,780,229 87
June 30, 1871.....	19,431,027 21

June 30, 1872.....	21,249,809 99
June 30, 1873.....	23,526,256 79
June 30, 1874.....	30,532,687 42

There is manifestly great inefficiency in the administration of our naval service. We pay about three-fifths as much as Great Britain, and we get—well, what do we get? To say we get one-fifth as much as England does would, we think, be an exaggeration. Previous to 1862 our navy never cost us fifteen million dollars in any one year. We can see nothing in the shape of ships and guns which ought to cost more than that now.

If the writer will explain what he means by "get" or getting, or how he arrives at the conclusion that "we pay about three-fifths as much as Great Britain and we get one-fifth as much as England," we may be able to show why "this is thus," or our inability to do so will be candidly acknowledged. To the last portion of the sentence the answer is, that if the navy cost \$15,000,000 a year, or anything near that amount previous to 1862, it cost much more, according to its comparative strength, than it does now. Its relative strength was as follows, according to the official figures:

Dates.	Vessels.	Tons.	Guns.	Men.
Dec. 31, 1860.....	76	106,271	1,783	7,600
At close of war..	671	510,336	4,610	51,500
October, 1872.....	176	233,480	1,390	8,500

To this, on the authority of acts of Congress, important additions have since been made by the construction of eight new vessels of large size, and by other additions to the regular navy.

It will be remembered, too, that in the navy expenses of 1874 there was a special appropriation of \$4,000,000 made to meet the emergency in the Cuban capture of the "Virginus." When this amount is deducted and the increase in the strength of the navy is considered; and when the gold premium and the depreciation in the purchasing power of the gold dollar itself are considered, the increased cost

of ships, munitions, and wages of men, the economy rather than extravagance in the navy becomes notably prominent.

THE INDIAN BUREAU.

The next reference is to the Indian Bureau:

IV. The Indians ought to pay an income tax, judging from the sums which have been voted them:

Year ended.	Amount.
June 30, 1868.....	\$1,100,682 32
June 30, 1869.....	7,042,923 06
June 30, 1870.....	3,407,938 15
June 30, 1871.....	7,420,997 44
June 30, 1872.....	7,051,728 82
June 30, 1873.....	7,951,704 88
June 30, 1874.....	6,692,462 09

"The Indians ought to pay an income tax," says the *Tribune*. That is a part of the peace policy inaugurated by the present Administration—a policy which does not prohibit the aid of the army when found to be necessary, but which aims (1) to gather the Indians within the lines of civilization, instead of driving them beyond the progress and improvements made by white men; (2) to civilize and educate them, and make them farmers, mechanics, &c.; and (3) to make them citizens, property-owners, and taxpayers. This change of policy will cost the Government more for a few years than it would have done to allow them to roam at large as formerly over, and claiming possession of, one-half of the entire domain, plundering, and murdering, and burning property at pleasure. The Cheyenne war of 1864 cost the Government, as shown by official returns, \$30,000,000; carried conflagration and death to the border settlements; withdrew 8,000 soldiers from the forces engaged in suppressing the rebellion; and cost the lives of several hundred soldiers, while only fifteen or twenty Indians were killed. The cost of a general Indian war could not be less than one hundred million dollars. The peace policy will cost for a few years from two to four million dollars more than it did to let the Indians roam at will, liable at any time to provoke hostilities that would involve the nation in fifty or a hundred million dollars debt, and expose the border communities to all the

atrocities and horrors of Indian barbarity. So far the peace policy has been a great success. Out of two hundred and ninety thousand Indians there are only sixty-four thousand now who are "actually and potentially hostile tribes." The other two hundred and sixteen thousand are all either civilized or obedient to the terms of existing treaties and friendly to the Government and the white populations.

OUR PENSIONED SOLDIERS.

The next item in the *Tribune's* charge of increased expenditures is that of pensions, reported as follows:

V. The expenditures on account of pensions compare as follows:

Year ended.	Amount.
June 30, 1869.....	\$28,476,621 78
June 30, 1870.....	28,340,202 17
June 30, 1871.....	34,443,894 88
June 30, 1872.....	28,533,402 76
June 30, 1873.....	29,359,426 86
June 30, 1874.....	22,038,414 66

These figures are correct; but it should be stated that all pensions are fixed as to amount by laws of Congress, and can not be reduced or increased. The pay of the Commissioner of Pensions, pension agents, and all subordinate officers connected with the Bureau are also specified by law; and the records and books of the office are open for inspection by all who wish to see for themselves how the funds are used. The pension roll previous to the last war was only about \$1,000,000. The official report for 1862 says: "The aggregate amount paid for army and navy pensions during the year was \$800,819 94." Deduct this from the amount paid during the fiscal year 1874, and we have \$27,107,224 77 as the annual cost to the country in pensions growing out of the rebellion, the direct result of Democratic disaffection.

AGGREGATE EXPENDITURES.

Under the next head the *Tribune* gives the following statement and figures:

VI. The totals of the five heads above given, which include the whole expenditure of the Government, except the interest on the public debt and premiums paid on bonds purchased and canceled, compare as follows:

Year ended.	Amount.
June 30, 1869.....	\$130,496,354 95
June 30, 1870.....	164,421,507 15
June 30, 1871.....	157,583,827 58
June 30, 1872.....	133,201,853 19
June 30, 1873.....	180,488,636 90
June 30, 1874.....	178,618,984 41

By reference to the estimates of appropriations for the years 1874-75, submitted to Congress last December, (page 306,) it will be seen that the total actual expenses of administering the Government, including foreign intercourse, the army, navy, Indian service, and all other branches of the Government, excluding interest on the public debt and other items of expenditure which grew out of the Democratic rebellion, and also of public works, which are in the nature of investments, during that year were only \$97,500,000. It must be remembered, too, that the increase of the army and the navy, and the increase of the clerical force in the Departments at the present time over the *ante-bellum* standard is mainly attributable to, and is another legacy of, the war, costing not less than \$33,000,000 per annum, which if deducted, as it should be, would leave the actual legitimate cost of the Government at \$64,500,000. The total expenditures for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1860, were \$68,025,788 98. Deducting items not in reality expenditures, amounting to \$1,623,380 34, we have the entire net expenditure for 1860, which is \$61,402,408 64, against that for the current fiscal year, which is \$64,500,000, which reduced to a gold basis would bring the actual cost of the Government at the present time to less than it was in 1860. But in a comparison of the cost of Government in 1860 and 1874 the actual depreciation in the value of gold itself, our standard of value, should be taken into account. The gold dollar will not purchase as much property, buy as much food, or pay for as much labor now as it would in 1860 by at least ten per cent.; and if our paper dollar is worth ten per cent. less than the gold dollar it is quite evident that the purchasing and paying power of the United States currency and national bank notes, by which ships

and warehouses are now built and the salaries of officials, soldiers, and sailors are now paid, is twenty per cent. less than that of the gold with which these Government obligations were discharged in 1860. These are self-evident truths, and they will be admitted and acknowledged by every intelligent and candid reader. The inference is equally plain and forcible that the actual cost of the Government in 1874—the charges growing out of the war, amounts paid for public works which are permanent investments, and the difference in the value of the paper dollar now and the *ante-bellum* gold dollar considered—is really less than the actual cost of the Government in 1860, with eleven million or one-third less population at that time than we have now.

If the Opposition and "Independent" press lay any claim to truth and honesty in their charges against the Republican party they will be forced to invent some new line of attack, and abandon the story of extravagance in the Government expenditures. The matter of economy is one of the chief aims of the Administration and of Congress, and every intelligent man in the country will acknowledge very great success in that direction since the close of an exhaustive and costly war. Retrenchment and economy are still the watch-word and the policy, and will be as long as there is room for a dollar's reduction in the cost of Government without detriment to the public interests.

NOT TO BE WONDERED AT—The Democrats of Kentucky are jubilant over their recent victory. They claim the State by sixty thousand majority. Unless a special providence in the shape of United States troops puts a stop to the wholesale murder of Republicans they can make their election unanimous next year. In the face of their recent Kuklux operations they ought to have doubled their majority this year.

THE TIMBER DEALERS AND THE PROPOSED RECIPROCITY TREATY.

It is suggestive of the inconsistencies of men prompted by too much self-interest to note the fact that while *dealers* in lumber in our great city centers are clamoring for a free-trade reciprocity with Canada, our own timber and lumber *manufacturers* are holding meetings in western New York, Maine, and Pennsylvania for the purpose of uniting in a pledge to each other to reduce the supply during the coming year. The resolution passed at the meeting held at Tonawanda, New York, on the 27th of August, is as follows:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, after a careful consideration of the question, and a due regard to the inevitable laws governing supply and demand, that a large reduction of the supply should take place for the coming year, and that we honorably pledge ourselves to largely limit our operations during the coming winter, and that we sincerely recommend the same course for others engaged in the business, if they desire again to secure a healthy condition of the trade.

We question the propriety of the combination policy. It is not a new expedient in the efforts made to regulate supply and demand. It has been tried in various branches of business, and has never, according to our information, succeeded. If the business does not pay, and is not likely to pay or become profitable, men engaged in it will quietly diminish the quantity of their product, and withdraw a portion of their capital and invest it in something that will give a larger return in interest or profits. We are all aware that the business panic of a year ago stopped nearly all building operations in every section of the country. In the same ratio the demand for lumber must have decreased, and heavy stocks remained on hand. Now business is reviving, and with the change comes a lively demand for lumber, but builders will not pay the former extravagant prices, increased largely during the war,

and but slightly reduced since that period. This is the cause, or at least the main cause, of these meetings for the purpose of combination to reduce the supply in order to sustain the war prices against the declining premium on gold and the shrinkage in values in all kinds of property. Let us suppose this combination and resolution not to manufacture should be carried out, what would be the result? Why, other capitalists would go into the business immediately on finding that there was an opportunity for a profitable investment, and the competition would soon be increased.

Adopt the wiser policy, gentlemen, of allowing each individual to consult his own interest and do as he thinks best. Be contented with smaller profits and you will soon have larger sales.

This movement indicates forcibly the absurdity of asking the Government to give us a reciprocity treaty with Canada in order to increase our supply of lumber, while our own lumber producers are about to "reduce the supply" of their own home product! Already the Canadians are anticipating a rich harvest from the reciprocity treaty and at the expense of our own lumbermen who propose "reducing the supply" of American lumber, probably to afford a better market for the free-trade Canadian product. The St. John, N. B., *Telegraph* says:

"There must be an enormous extension of our lumbering business under the proposed reciprocity treaty. The Crown's lands and the Provinces must increase greatly in value. The number of lumber operators will be doubled or trebled. The number of mill hands also and the saw mills themselves increased both in number and cutting capacity."

NEGRO ELEVATION.—Said a Democratic orator to a crowd of the faithful in Louisiana recently: "God in his providence has intrusted to your hands the elevation of the negro." The hit was a good one; but it would have been better if he had told his audience just how many negroes had been elevated in obedience to this divine trust.

SPIRIT OF THE "WHITE LEAGUE" PRESS.

As the President of the United States has given instructions to have troops concentrated in the disaffected districts in the South the people elsewhere in the Union should be well informed as to the causes which have led to this order.

In the September number of THE REPUBLIC the rebellious and lawless spirit of certain portions of the white citizens of Louisiana and other Gulf States was shown in a number of brief articles, supported by extracts from the Southern press. The following additional quotations afford further light into the sentiments of the Democratic leaders in those States, and the atrocities committed by those who are guided by their instructions :

"Let it be known, now and forever," says the Natchitoches, La., *Vindicator*, August 29, "that the white people are going to take charge of this State. Let it be known that we are after two sets of men; the corrupt and ignorant, to keep them out of office; the honest and competent, to put them in. This is the aim, the sole purpose, of the White League."

The "honest and competent" are the instigators and indorsers of the recent murder of six office-holders in Conshatte, and that is the way the rotation in office is to be effected. The "honest and competent" consider it more expeditious than the ballot-box and formal elections.

The same paper in another editorial makes the following declaration :

"We do not intend to be interfered with by any one residing here or elsewhere as to the manner of conducting a political campaign, and of ridding our State of the miscreant scoundrels who have been fattening already too long on the people's life blood."

And again :

"The white man's party is determined to rescue Louisiana from the polluting embraces of such a hybrid pack of lecherous pimps as Kellogg, Packard, Durell, Pinchback, Dibble, Casey, Dubuclet, and their followers, who were conceived in sin, brought forth in pollution, nursed by filthy harpies, and dropped in Louis-

iana, to show to the world to what depth of corruption, disgrace, and infamy human nature can stoop."

On Saturday, the 29th of August, Thomas L. Ivey, a colored mail agent of the Government on the Alabama and Chattanooga train, was shot in the car, for no other reason than that he had said "the assassins of Billings should be brought to justice." In its report of the shooting of Ivey, the *Meridian Mercury* of Sunday, August 30, says :

"Yesterday afternoon, as the Alabama and Chattanooga train was coming this way, about three miles beyond York and six this way from Livingston, a man stood upon the track and flagged the train down with his hat. Charlie Briggs was the engineer, and stopped his train. Immediately as the train stopped, some three or six shots, variously stated by eye witnesses, were fired at Thomas L. Ivey, the colored mail agent. He is said to have uttered a single exclamation of pain, and, from the terrible character of the wounds, was, doubtless, killed instantly after. The train brought the body on to this city. It is supposed that Ivey came to the door of the car to observe what the train was stopping for, and so gave his slayers the fair opportunity they wanted. It is said there were assistants on both sides of the train. Their work was quick and decisive, and they disappeared in the brush, and no one of all the people about the train recognized any one."

By these acts of murder the colored people become terror-stricken, and as a matter of precaution to save their lives they sacrifice their political convictions and join the Democratic ranks.

The Selma, Ala., *Republican*, September 1, says :

"The programme of the Democracy is too patent now to be denied. That poor Ivey was shot by the Kuklux no one seems to deny, and the Selma *Times* adds, in speaking of this murder, that immediately after the facts became known at York Station, where his remains were afterward carried, 'and while it awaited the coroner's jury, some fifty or more negroes organized a Democratic club, which is daily increasing in number.'"

"Your vote or your life" has become

the Democratic White League ultimatum to the Southern Republicans, white and black.

Since the murder of Ivey, the mail-route agent on the Alabama and Chattanooga railroad, several mail-route agents in the South have shown considerable alarm, and are asking leave of absence from the Post Office Department, and some decline to remain any longer on their routes. Thus the legitimate functions of the Government are interfered with, and its business and the delivery of the mails interrupted. Can these atrocities be allowed to go on unchecked?

Here is a similar case in Texas, which occurred a few days ago. The Mobile, Ala., *Watchman* says:

"The Rev. Jeremiah Webster, of the West Texas Methodist Episcopal Church Conference, has been lynched by hanging. He was murdered by the gang of desperadoes who whipped Washburn, and drove Gesner from the State for the crime (?) of teaching negroes. Mr. Webster has suffered death because he interposed in favor of Washburn and Gesner."

The meanest part of this barbarism in professedly Christian communities is the attempt to make the people elsewhere believe that the colored people are the aggressors and the murderers. The colored race are by nature timid and submissive, and they are now using every means in their power to preserve the peace of the communities in which their lot has been cast.

The Friar's Point, Miss., *Delta*, of August 28, says:

"We observe that the colored people are, in various sections, holding public meetings and protesting against an organization upon the color line. They do not desire such an issue. Indeed they shun it as one calculated to embroil the two races in an unnecessary and possibly bloody conflict."

The origin of the Coushatta massacre of six white men, prominent officers of the United States Government, or of the State government, was first charged to the colored people. But that ruse failed, and the atrocious deed is proved to have been planned and carried to its

terrible end by the Democratic White Leaguers in the community. The statement that the actual murderers were from Texas is also false, and the Galveston, Texas, *Mercury*, September 2, says:

"The attempt to throw the odium of their murder upon citizens of Texas is far from honorable or manly, and will never stand the test of an investigation before any impartial tribunal."

The Baton Rouge, La., *Republican*, August 29, expresses the feelings and desires of the colored race in the following paragraph:

"That nothing is further from the intention of the colored men, and all they pray for is to live on terms of peace and quietness with their brethren of a lighter complexion. Is this too much to ask? Let the Democratic press respond."

If a similar sentiment was manifested and acted upon by the white population Louisiana would soon become one of the most prosperous States in the Union. The paper last quoted says:

"With the exception of political troubles in the shape of the White League, White Camelia, or White Jackasses, there is nothing wanting to make Louisiana the garden spot of the world. Our climate is unsurpassed. Those plants and shrubs called 'exotic' are here native; epidemics are almost unknown, and all that is required for the prosperity of the State is a cessation of the doubly miserable subterfuges and other proceedings of these unsatisfied rebels."

The hypocrisy of the members of the Democratic White Leagues is as brazen-faced as the attempt to fix their murderous acts upon the colored race. The Baton Rouge, La., *Daily Advocate*, (Democratic,) August 24, says:

"The Leaguers most emphatically deny that they wish to interfere with the political privileges of the black man, and every act of theirs in this parish shows this to be an indisputable fact, and stamps all contrary assertion to be indisputably false, no matter from what source such assertions come. Any assertion that white merchants wish to oppress the negro or interfere with his privileges of franchise is too transparent a falsehood for the real object thereof not to be seen by men of sense."

This declaration loses its force when read in connection with the following from the same paper, under the head of "Preamble and Resolutions Adopted by White League No. 1, of the Second Ward of Livingston Parish:"

"*Resolved*, That we will have no man on our farms or in our workshops who votes the Radical ticket.

"*Be it further resolved*, That we consider it the duty of (and cordially invite) all white men opposed to Radicalism to co-operate with us.

"*Further resolved*, That we consider it beneath our moral dignity to associate with any white man who votes the Radical ticket or affiliates with that party in any manner whatever.

"*Further resolved*, That we pledge our support to the Democratic party."

The audacity of the White League press is suggestive of a deliberate determination to follow up the policy of murder until their base purposes of driving every Republican from the polls has been accomplished. Mark the following from the Shreveport, La., *Times*, referring to the murder of a poor old defenseless negro:

"There has been some red-handed work done in this parish that was necessary, but it was evidently done by cool, determined, and just men, who know just how far to go, and we doubt not if the same kind of work is necessary it will be done again."

And this from the same:

"We say again that we fully, cordially approve what the white men of Grant and Rapides did at Colfax. The white man who does not is a creature so base that he shames the worst of his species."

In Texas, the largest State and by Nature's prodigality one of the finest in the Union, the same dastardly spirit of murder and lawlessness prevails. The St. Louis, Mo., *Republican*, (Democratic,) says:

"Whole counties are under the absolute control of organized bands of desperate men, who set the laws of the State at defiance and levy contributions from the people at will."

And adds:

"The course pursued by Davis in the suspension of lawlessness might have been arbitrary, undemocratic, and scenting of despotism, but, nevertheless, it

proved very effective in practice, and gave peace and security in counties where there is now no peace or protection."

Governor Davis' course was "undemocratic," but it "gave peace and security" to life and property; Governor Coke's plan is Democratic, and it has led to murder and lawlessness.

From the quotations we have made it will be seen that the orders of the President were absolutely necessary and came none too soon; and so far as our examination of the public press has extended the President's course is fully indorsed by the Republican party.

It should be known that among the merchants, planters, and property owners in nearly every part of the South there is a strong sentiment of disapproval of these acts of outrage and violations of law and order. Many of these, although old residents to the manor born, are in full sympathy with the Federal administration and the State governments and officials, while they are all anxious to secure peace and the preservation of life and property. They do not wish to interfere in politics, and desire to be let alone. But all such are denounced and their lives are made miserable by threats of violence on account of their opposition to the acts of the mob. With reference to these the Natchitoches *Vindicator* uses the following language:

"With either party there is but one political creed, outside of which no one can have the hope of salvation or of anything else. No consideration for him who is 'neither fish, flesh, nor fowl.' He can not be looked upon as a party man who is neither a Hyperion nor a Satyr. *There is no middle course*. He must be one thing or the other—a man in the true sense of the word, or a self-infamous villain."

There is every reason to believe that with a judicious distribution of troops in the disaffected portions of the South, under cool-headed and cautious officers, these cowardly ruffians can be compelled to respect the laws and the lives of the peaceably disposed citizens. The prompt

arrest and punishment of a few of the ringleaders will bring them and their deluded followers to their senses, and allow the elections to be conducted with fairness.

The Democratic sympathy from the

North has had a potent influence in stimulating and extending disaffection in the South, and in causing wholesale bloodshed and murder, in the disgrace and from the consequences of which the entire Union is made to share and suffer.

"THE DOMINANT RACE."

It is about time that Southern Democrats stop talking about their being "the legitimate representatives of the dominant race on this earth." If they are, the world will discover it soon enough without calling upon them to blow their own trumpets. We have an exalted idea of the white race in general, and some branches of it in particular, but we see on every hand so many lazy, good-for-nothing, bigoted, and rascally pale faces that we find our faith sadly shaken in the color of the skin as an index of superior merit or well developed manhood. There was a time in the earlier history of the nation when the plausible doctrine preached by Southern Democracy that the Caucasian branch of the human race was created by a kind Providence to ride on the shoulders of the rest of mankind, and with whip and spur force them to do their bidding, but that time has departed, and the world has at last opened its sleepy eyes to the fact that all men have equal rights in the race of life, and that no one branch has a right to saddle the other on the grounds of a legal and divine right to do so. Merit, in this age of progress, must be the standard of superiority, and if Southern Democrats ignore that standard they will find, to their sorrow, that the color of their skin can not keep them in the vanguard of civilization.

We are led to these remarks by reading the speech of the President of the Conservative Convention which recently met at Baton Rouge. His name is R. H. Marr, and his sentiments incline us to believe that he is the same individual who in the palmy days of slavery tried to convince the Christian world that the

trade in human flesh was sanctioned by the Almighty, commanded by His holy word, and was the divinely appointed system for the elevation and Christianization of the African race. In his eyes every slaveholder was a missionary, and every crack of the lash the essence of gospel truth. It is a sad comment on the doctor's philosophy that when Abraham Lincoln, through his proclamation, closed this benevolent system of missionary work, after more than a hundred years of trial among the negroes of the South; but few of its converts could be found who could read or write, or who had been elevated a single degree above their original state of ignorance and barbarism. Yet Mr. Marr in his speech satisfies his hearers by the following offering of white-wash and soap:

"You know that before the emancipation of the colored race we occupied toward them a patriarchal relation. The negro should still receive the protecting care of those who were formerly his masters. I tell you, my countrymen, the truest and best friends the negro ever had, or ever will have, were once their masters and owners. The duty that we have to perform with regard to him is, as I say, one for which we are responsible to God and our country. I wish to impress this seriously upon you before you leave here; it has oppressed me; it has weighed upon me with a heavy sense of responsibility; it is to civilize and Christianize this negro race. Left to himself he will become savage, an idolator. Wherever he has been allowed to exercise his natural tendencies and desires unrestrained he has become a savage and an idolator. God in his providence has intrusted his elevation to you. Do not doubt it; do not shrink from it; do not attempt to shirk the responsibility. God in his providence has intrusted to you the elevation, the

education, and the training of this race."

We suggest in all kindness to this "representative of the dominant race" and specimen of enlightened Democracy that it is about time that he and his friends allowed the negro to work out his own social and political salvation. If their former masters and owners are, indeed, "their truest and best friends," as Mr. Marr asserts, the colored people will not be long in finding it out. But we insist that the negro race has a right to look elsewhere for the means wherewith to elevate and Christianize itself. A century's experience with "the dominant race" has somewhat shaken its confidence in the friendship expressed by its former masters and owners, and the benevolent work of the White Leagues and the charitable visits of the Kuklux are not over calculated to restore confidence in these self-proclaimed "truest and best friends the negro ever had." If Southern Democracy earnestly seeks to elevate and Christianize the negro race it must stop the discipline which held it in bondage. It must call off its bloodhounds and send out teachers competent to instruct. Instead of driving negroes away by the rifle and the knife it should attract them by the Bible and the school book. Instead of burning colored churches and school-houses it should build others and stock them with the agencies of peace and civilization. Instead of persecuting and ostracizing Northern teachers who would gladly instruct the colored people in the best methods of education and industry it should welcome them to its cities and towns and bid them God speed in their efforts to elevate and Christianize a race whose labor the South must depend upon for a large share of its future prosperity. Let Democracy pursue this plan and write over its courts of justice "equal punishment to the white and black offender," and the nation will rejoice over Democratic majorities because they will mean protection to the humblest citizen and the blessings of liberty

to all. This, and this only, is the path which leads to Southern peace and prosperity. Will Democracy follow it, and thus secure its own redemption in the elevation of a race that it now oppresses? or will it in the future, as in the past, cling to its blind prejudices until it encompasses its own destruction? This path of peace which we have indicated the Republican party is following to-day. Democracy can forstall its action and earn the reward, or it can continue to hinder its progress by placing obstacles in the way. But the result, sooner or later, must be the same. If the representatives of "the dominant race" would reap the glory they must hasten to do the work.

A RED-HOT DEMOCRAT.—Scene, railroad station in Maryland, not far from the National Capital. District politician and a country constituent meet and shake hands:

Politician. Ah, Jones! going to the city, I see!

Countryman. Just so; thought a trip would do me good.

Politician. Well, how does the nomination suit you?

Countryman. Didn't like it! Can't swallow that fellow anyhow. He aint Democrat enough for me, nohow.

Politician. Why, how so? He is a red hot Democrat, he is. You can't beat him on Democracy. I tell you, Jones, he knows all about it.

Countryman. Yes, he may be all right now, but I can't forget where he stood during the war. That fellow was a war Democrat, and agin us all the time. He wasn't no friend of the South, nohow! I am one of those fellows that can't forget the past, I can't.

Politician. Oh, that's all right! I wouldn't touch him myself if he stood where he did during the war. But things have changed, you know, and I tell you, in confidence, no man on earth feels meaner of his record than he does to-day. I tell you, I know he is a red hot Democrat.

Countryman. Well, I'll see about it. If he is dead agin the nigger, and with us agin the Radicals, I may take him in for lack of a better, but it goes agin the grain to swallow a fellow that wasn't one of us.

Politician. Now, Jones, give me your hand! Let's take a drink; that's what I call patriotism! Exit, arm in arm, to bind the bargain with a glass of old rye.

NEW YORK REFORMERS IN COUNCIL.

The Liberal Republicans of the State of New York met in convention at Albany, September 9. A few of the leading Tammany Democrats were on hand, and the character of the resolutions adopted and the fact that the convention adjourned without making any nominations for State officers show that the secret influence of Tammany Hall held the Liberal Reformers in check. The first resolution is a good one, and does credit to their early training in the Republican party. It is so purely orthodox in its character that we print it as adopted :

"Resolved, That the Liberal Republicans of the State of New York stand for the defense of Constitutional liberty; for the right of local self-government; for the restoration of delegated power; for a strict accountability on the part of public officers; for the realization of constitutional currency; and for the rights and interests of the masses of the people."

If the convention had adjourned after passing that resolution we should have had some hopes of their political future. But they were forced to satisfy the Democratic element on which they rely for converts. So they threw mud over an excellent platform contained in the first resolution by tacking on it six others, denunciatory of everything Republican in general, and President Grant in particular. Here is the second resolution, intended no doubt for Southern effect :

"That the administration of President Grant has failed to fulfill the reasonable expectations of the people; that it has pursued a vacillating and imbecile financial policy, which has plunged the business of the country into disaster and bankruptcy; that it has invaded the rights of sovereign States by imposing upon them Governors by means of the bayonet, whom the people had rejected at the ballot-box; that it has employed spies and informers to plunder our merchants, and established a system of terrorism, paralyzing enterprise; that it has conspired with corrupt men and monopolies to prey upon the community, and has kept in existence in the District

of Columbia an infamous ring, in whose thefts, although carefully screened by their confederates in Congress, high officers of the Government have been proved to be participators."

Had this resolution been written by Warmoth, of Louisiana, or the Grand Mogul of one of the White Leagues of the South, it could not have reflected more truthfully the sentiment of Southern Democracy. Who are the people "whose reasonable expectations have not been fulfilled by the administration of President Grant?" Not those who supported him or those friendly to the party which elected him. If the people referred to belong to the Democratic party, or to the reform faction which affiliates with it, we are not surprised that their expectations have not been fulfilled. They have thrown out so many drag nets to catch the President and change his policy without the slightest success that they have a right to grumble over an Administration which has been proof against their seductive influences.

The best reply to the attack on our financial system is the present excellent condition of our national finances. Our securities are regarded as the very best in the market at home and abroad. Our currency is in a healthy state and closely approximates the value of gold. It is uniform in value throughout the nation, and, to say the least, is far superior in every way to any paper currency which prevailed under old time Democracy. The return to specie payments is but a question of time, and will come when the best interests of the nation demand it. If our financial troubles were the greatest we had to contend with, we should, indeed, be the happiest people on the face of the earth.

The miserable fling which seeks to connect the President with the crisis of last fall is as mean as it is unjust. Men who know anything know that the September panic of 1873 was caused by

over speculation, especially in railroad securities. The speculative bubble which had been forming for years suddenly burst, and carried, with the force of a torrent, speculators and, in many instances, legitimate business firms into a common ruin. What had President Grant to do with this disaster?

About as much as he has to do with the thunder storm when the clouds are ready to burst, and a sane man, devoid of prejudice, would as soon charge his Administration with being responsible for the Mill river disaster, or the bursting of the water spout at Alleghany City, as to connect it, even by inference, with the unfortunate panic of last year.

The other charges in this second resolution are in keeping with the one disposed of. Governor Kellogg holds his position as Governor of Louisiana through decree of a judicial tribunal over which President Grant could exercise no control without gross usurpation of power. He recognized him as Governor of the State because the proper tribunal had decreed him such. If there was an error committed it belongs to the court, not to the President. To have arrogated to himself the right to pass upon the validity of a judicial decision, rendered according to the forms of law, would have been to place himself above Congress and the laws which govern his action as President.

Where he was free to act he refused to recognize the Republican Governor of Texas, when plausible grounds could have been found to have sustained the recognition.

Texas to-day is groaning under Democratic misrule because the President refused to take upon himself a responsibility which he felt could not be clearly sustained as a legal measure before the bar of public judgment. He recognized Governor Baxter, of Arkansas, on the recommendation of the Attorney General, who had carefully examined into the facts of the case, and who reported in favor of his recognition.

That no partisan spirit entered into the merits of this recognition is effectually proven by the fact that at the recent Democratic convention held in Arkansas Governor Baxter was tendered the renomination by a unanimous vote.

This is the sum and substance of the proclaimed "invasion of State sovereignty by imposing upon States Governors by means of the bayonet."

The other charges are too silly to need refutation, and carry with them so much of Democratic venom that fair-minded men everywhere will reject them as unworthy of attention much less belief.

The other resolutions refer to Republican measures and are so highly colored by misrepresentation that a person friendly to them could hardly recognize them in the arraignment set forth. The whole tone of the convention was Democratic, and shows that the tendency of the few soreheads who left the Republican party in 1872 to form a new party is to affiliate with the Democracy. The seven resolutions which they have presented to the country, with the exception of the first one, are so thoroughly Democratic in their tone that Tammany Hall will find no trouble in adopting them for a party platform. Not a word of praise for the many good things the Republican party has done; not a single allusion to its brilliant past and honorable present; not a line against Democratic misrule in those States where it holds power; not a sentence referring to or protesting against the fearful outrages in the South; not a word of encouragement or hope to the loyal citizens who to-day look to the Government for help; not a suggestion in regard to the necessity of protecting American citizens; and all these vital omissions in the platform of a party that claims to be liberal in its policy, reformatory in its character, and patriotic in its purposes. The sooner the Liberal Reformers openly identify themselves with Democracy the better. The few honest Republicans who left our party to join them can no longer be deceived by their clamor for

reform. Their action at Albany justifies our early convictions that the party from its inception has been an ally of Democracy, and was, in its formation, a blind to draw from the Republican ranks sufficient strength to place the affairs of the Government in Democratic hands. The movement failed, thanks to a patriotic people who detected the deception and refused to be a party to the betrayal of the Republic.

The fight this fall is the same old fight, Democracy on the one hand. Republicanism on the other. The stake is a val-

uable one—the possession of the House of Representatives. Democracy will put forth its greatest efforts to win, but we have an abiding faith in the grand old party that has carried the nation through so many perils; that has never violated a trust; never betrayed a friend. The Republican party is so closely allied to the life of the nation that we have as strong a conviction in the success of the one as we have in the perpetuity of the other. Let its friends work earnestly and our fall victories will send a thrill of joy throughout the land.

"THE USUAL NUMBER OF MURDERS."

A few Democratic papers are honest enough to denounce the outrages committed in the South, and to approve the action of the President in directing the use of United States troops for the protection of loyal citizens. Others are silent on the subject, while the majority seek to belittle the crimes committed and to attribute the reports of lawlessness throughout the Southern States to a preconceived effort on the part of the Republicans to manufacture political capital for the coming campaign.

"Just before an election," they say, "we are treated to the usual number of murders in the South, but as soon as the election is over we hear nothing more of violence and bloodshed." This may be true. It is a part of the programme of Southern Democracy to obtain power by keeping their opponents from the polls. To do this they must strike fear to the hearts of Republicans. Through organized bands, composed of none but Democrats, they commit such deeds of violence as shall have the desired effect. The time to act is a few months before an election. The political effect is then felt more surely at the polls. So great has been the fear inspired by the threats of these political outlaws and the deeds of violence which characterize them that in some sections of the South, where the Republican vote is

strong, not a single Republican is likely to appear at the polls to offer his vote. This is the way the Democratic majorities are manufactured in the South, and this accounts for the fact noticed by the Democratic press "that just before an election we are treated to the usual number of murders in the South."

The Democrats have gained possession of Texas and Georgia through this policy of persecution, and if left unchecked will soon have possession of every State in the South. Their thorough organization, the desperate men who lead them, the means at their disposal, and the secret sympathy of influential men render their work effective in preparing the road for a complete Democratic victory. Some men will defy the knife and bullet to cast a vote for the party of their choice, but the average voter prefers to run no risk, and quietly stays at home. Thus it is that sections once strongly Republican are to-day hardly represented at the polls. Brutal whippings, cruel murders, destruction of property, threats of banishment from the State, have produced the desired effect, and may well be remitted after the election until another campaign shall again require the same discipline of terrorism in the interest of Democracy. How much longer shall these outrages on the rights of citizenship be tolerated in a free coun-

try? If we read the signs of the times aright, the end is close at hand. The strong arm of the Government is at last outstretched to protect the loyal citizens of the South from the cowardly cut-throats who have been oppressing them. Let the Republicans of the South lighten the work of the Government by effecting a thorough organization in every section. Let them band together for mutual defense, and as law-abiding citizens maintain every right which belongs to them. Let men of known courage and good judgment be called to act as leaders and advisors. Let demagogues be set aside and true patriotism govern the organization, and the unfortunate factions which have invited oppression by

dividing the strength of the party will disappear, and Republicanism will again become a power in the South, wise enough to lead the people to true prosperity, and strong enough to command for itself the respect of its political opponents.

When this organization takes place the moral effect of the Government's assurance of protection will be sufficient to secure the full enjoyment of every Constitutional right guaranteed to American citizens. We shall then have peace in the South, fair play at every election, and our Democratic brethren will no longer read on the eve of an election of "the usual number of murders in the South."

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.

When a United States marshal arrested a citizen of Massachusetts under the fugitive slave law, and United States troops guarded him as he was marched in irons through the streets of Boston, we heard nothing from Southern Democrats about the unconstitutionality of that exercise of Federal authority.

When the citizens of the North were compelled, under severe penalties, to assist in catching and returning to their owners runaway slaves, Southern Democracy and its Northern allies had no word of protest against this invasion of State rights. When imprisonment was the punishment inflicted by a free Government on the citizens of the Republic who fed and clothed and sheltered the starving negro as he fled from the house of bondage and the lash of his cruel oppressor, we heard from the Democrats of the land a universal amen over this outrage on humanity and freedom. Then pro-slavery principles governed the nation, and freedom was forced to obey the laws created by the slaveholder and those who held power in the interest of slavery. But now the tables are turned. The institution of slavery no longer blots the soil of the nation. The last

vestige of its odious laws has been wiped from our statutes, and the shadows of the blighting curse have gone forever. The legislation of to-day is in the interest of humanity, freedom, civilization, human progress. The Government no longer orders its marshals to pursue and arrest the fugitive from slavery; no longer imprisons the citizen who obeys the dictates of humanity in feeding the hungry and clothing the naked; no longer tortures the Constitution into an instrument of oppression and cruelty. It reads its provisions under a new light, and seeks its translation under the teachings of liberty. It reads protection and safety to the humblest citizen where it once read the right to persecute and enslave. But this new meaning, approved by the civilized world, and blessed of God, is objectionable to the old Democratic expounders of the Constitution. They hold that the Government which had the power when controlled by Democracy to punish a man who refused to catch a runaway slave has not the power under Republican rule to punish the man or men who persecute and murder American citizens; or, in plain English, they hold that the

Government which had the Constitutional right to punish the citizen of a State for committing a humane act has no Constitutional authority for the punishment of those who shock humanity by their crimes against loyal citizens. The nation can make humanity a crime, but barbarism is beyond its reach! A fig for such reasoning! It belongs to the dark ages, and has no place in the age of human advancement.

There can be no clearer right possessed by the Government than the power to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of their Constitutional rights. To believe otherwise is to acknowledge the Government incapable of self-preservation. Four years of war completely banished that Democratic doctrine from American politics. Henceforth it will find no favor, except from those who live on the

exploded theories of a dead past, and who still cling to the hope that the "lost cause" will find a glorious resurrection in the no distant future.

The sooner our Democratic neighbors of the South and the North come to the conclusion that the Government has a Constitutional right to protect its citizens and to punish with severity those who invade or abridge their rights, the sooner we shall have peace and true prosperity in sections that to day stand sadly in need of both. As long as a Republican Congress enacts the laws, and a Republican President executes them, and a loyal people backs both in the discharge of their duty, we shall not doubt either the inclination or the power of the nation to arrest and punish the evil-doers who offend against the laws of the land.

EFFECTS OF THE RACE ISSUE EXEMPLIFIED.

Illustrations of the suicidal effects of the race issue upon business and material progress are seen wherever the White Leagues have been organized and the abuse of the colored race is persistently practiced. The colored people rarely retaliate or organize to resist their oppressors. They are naturally timid, and when abused they usually gather up their few worldly effects, and with their families quietly leave the State, and the communities in which they lived are deprived of the benefit of their labor. Slaves were worth a thousand dollars apiece. The true value of a healthy free colored laborer is, in a pecuniary point of view, worth all of that to the State in which he lives and labors. If driven away he carries the value of his labor with him and gives it to the State in which he receives protection and proper treatment.

Another illustration of this folly of persecution from political motives is found in the fact that capitalists will not invest or settle in those States in which these scenes of barbarism are en-

acted. In support of this statement the *New Orleans Times*, a Democratic journal and advocate of White League organizations, gives a case in point. The *Times* says:

Mr. Wilson, a capitalist, representing an English syndicate, who had £1,000,000 sterling to invest, and who came here with letters of introduction from William Cullen Bryant, of the *New York Evening Post*, and other gentlemen of similar standing, has recently returned from a prospecting tour of the Red river district. He says he never saw a fairer field for railroad and other enterprises for the investment of capital than there, were it not for the excitement and uncertainty of the future caused by the political leagues; that there is no security for capital or labor in that section of the State, and that he had recommended those whom he represented not to invest there.

Mr. Wilson stated that he was desired by the Central Railroad Company, which road is prepared to be run between Shreveport and New Orleans, to take charge of their affairs and further the construction of the road, but he declined doing so, on account of the political animosity that exists in that portion of the State. Mr. Wilson is represented

as being a strong conservative in politics—what would be called at the North a Democrat. He has written a number of letters to the *New York Evening Post*, which have been published under the head of "An English Capitalist on his Travels."

In further illustration of the bareful effects of the White Leagues upon the business prospects of the States where they are organized, the facts come to us daily from reliable sources that many of those families who had gone from the North, and who had bought property and settled in the South, are removing and carrying with them an aggregate of millions of dollars, which, under favorable circumstances, would have been permanently invested and followed by substantial improvements in mills and manufactories. The poet says:

"There is a pleasure in being mad,
Which none but mad men know."

And in this pleasure of madness is the only solution of the White League follies.

Virginia and South Carolina are exempt from these outrages upon the black race and their white friends, and what is the result? These States are receiving immigration, capital, and enterprise from the North and from Europe.

A company of co-operative rice planters, an English corporation with a capital of \$1,000,000, is soon to commence operations in the vicinity of Charleston, and other associations of the same classes are looking to Virginia and other Southern States for opportunities to invest money. With the assurance of safety to settlers, both Northern and foreign capital will flow in the same direction, and in constantly larger amounts. But the welcome "with bloody hands to hospitable graves" proposed by the Louisiana White League and Texan masked outlaws would, if extended to other States, convert the South into an abomination of desolation.

BUSINESS PROSPECTS AND THE FALL TRADE.

On the accumulating evidence reaching us from reliable sources there is certainly reason to believe that the immediate effects of the panic of last September have passed away, and that the general business of the country is in a substantially healthy condition, while the prospects of the fall trade are very satisfactory. If, as a business people, we wish to profit by the experience of the business crisis through which the country has just passed we should never lose sight of the fact that the one and only cause of the crash and the stagnation that followed was overtrading. In the fact that 40,000 miles of railway have been built since 1861; that a single firm undertook to carry the construction of a railway from ocean to ocean; and that manufacturing, mercantile, and other industries had been expanded in about the same ratio, we are afforded abundant evidence of the cause of the crisis that followed. The only cause of wonder now is that the crash was not

more general and disastrous in its results, and that its effects have been so soon overcome as is seen in the general revival of business. It at least shows a recuperative power in our industries that is probably without a parallel, the force of which may be realized to some extent when it is remembered that in England and other European nations recovery from a commercial crisis is rarely or never effected in less than five to ten, and sometimes fifteen years, if we may accept the records of history as an authority.

Commissioner Douglass reports that so far in the current fiscal year the internal revenue returns show an increase over the corresponding period last year. The receipts for July were half a million in excess of those for July, 1873, and the indications are that there will be a slight increase the current month, notwithstanding it is ordinarily one of the most quiet months of the year. It will give no general dissatisfaction to know that

the Commissioner reports the distillery business as unusually dull. In harmony with these revenue statistics are those relating to our exports. The figures at the port of New York—exclusive of specie—for the last three years compare as follows:

1872.....	\$142,491,440
1873.....	181,808,583
1874.....	192,271,425

This is doing very well.

The imports for eleven months of the last fiscal year (up to May 31,) have been completed at the Statistical Bureau, and the show the following gratifying results:

EXPORTS.

1873. Domestic exports, 11 months.	\$593,537,339
1874. Domestic exports, 11 months.	636,034,218

Increase..... 39,496,879

IMPORTS.

1873. Imports, 11 months.....	\$614,095,800
1874. Imports, 11 months.....	546,548,517

Decrease..... 67,547,283

An increase of thirty-nine and a half million dollars in eleven months in 1874 over the corresponding months in 1873 is certainly indicative of increasing foreign commerce, while a decrease of sixty-seven and a half million dollars in our imports during the same period gives evidence of an increasing home supply of the articles consumed or used in the country.

Another satisfactory evidence of the soundness of our foreign trade is given in the large excess of exports over imports. The above figures give the following results:

1874. Exports.....	\$636,034,218
1874. Imports.....	546,548,517

Excess in exports..... 89,485,701

An excess of eighty-nine and a half million dollars in the value of exports over imports in eleven months indicates an excess of a hundred millions in twelve months—a result rarely achieved in the foreign commerce of nations. In the tables of exports our domestic products only are included. There was in 1873 an additional export of foreign goods to the value of \$21,820,412, and in 1874 to the value of \$25,000,410, which

would, to the same extent, increase the excess of exports over imports. A better showing of our foreign commercial trade could not reasonably be asked.

As indicating what the fall trade will be we are enabled to state on reliable authority that the reports from New York and other large commercial centers are very gratifying. A heavy wholesale dealer in dry goods in New York city said a few days ago in reply to an inquiry as to the condition of the dry goods trade generally: "We," (the trade generally,) "are doing remarkably well. Last June we could not have believed that we would have so fair a field ahead." Merchants are buying fewer costly goods than before the crisis, the retail purchaser inquiring for a silk at \$1 75 per yard who, before the panic, would look at nothing costing less than \$3 per yard. In fact this idea of greater economy is practiced not only in families, but in business, in manufactories, on the farm, and in Congress. It is one of the grand lessons of the panic, and it seems to have been pretty generally learned and practically adopted.

In wholesale groceries, leather, and fancy goods the New York market is reported buoyant. Said a wholesale dealer in fancy goods a few days ago: "Trade in this business, as well as in all others, will be, in my opinion, if not livelier, healthier. There will be some losses, but they will be light and few." And the general conclusion at which business men have arrived in that great commercial center is that "the prospects of the fall trade are excellent."

Grain and produce are coming forward from the West in sufficient quantities to meet the home and foreign demand, and at more reasonable charges for freight. A New York market reporter says:

"The grain and flour merchants are confident of a good season ahead, and the business, they say, in the flour and provision markets has already set in well. Prices, they say, may vary somewhat; but, as a general thing, will not be altered to any great extent, as far as can be seen at present. They say that

there is now in store at Buffalo upward of 900,000 bushels of grain; in St. Louis about 450,000 bushels of wheat, 179,000 of corn, 150,000 of oats; as against this time last year of 61,433 of wheat, 267,107 of corn, 66,394 of oats, 11,190 of barley. One of the dealers says that one day last week in Detroit there were in store over 200,000 bushels of grain, as against about 135,000 for the same period last year. They anticipate a good trade in flour, &c., with good prices, and regard the trade in grain and provisions as promising. They say they have no trouble about payments, and find the Western people are as confident as they are that there will be no business difficulties or uncertainties like those of last year which tied up the hands of some of the Eastern dealers so badly."

THE LUMBER MARKET.

The lumber dealers felt the crisis

severely by the sudden stoppage in building, but they have now very substantial evidence of returning prosperity in an increasing demand for lumber, which, though not equal to that of last year prior to the crisis, indicates a very satisfactory fall trade.

The manufacturing establishments that closed on account of the panic have resumed, but in some cases on a less extensive scale than formerly.

The farmers have had an abundant crop, and though prices are reduced, yet on the whole, with cheaper transportation and greater economy in the management of their farms, the profits at the end of the year will not fall far short if they do not in many cases exceed those of former seasons.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF LOUISIANA.

Against the floods and overflows and the political disturbances in Louisiana nature has been bountiful, and the people are blessed with a most abundant crop. Reports to this effect come from almost every section of the State. The losses by the flood are more than compensated by the abundance of the yield of sugar and rice on the plantations that escaped, and the aggregate return will be above the average.

As an indication of the condition of the crops and prospects of a large return throughout the State a report from the plantations below New Orleans will be given in brief.

SUGAR-CANE.

A writer in the *New Orleans Picayune* says that on a visit among the planters "in the lower part of New Orleans, and all of St. Bernard and Plaquemines" he found them all "in good spirits on account of the promising agricultural outlook of the present season." He adds:

"A ride through some of the fields convinced us that they—the farmers and planters—had good reason to be in fine spirits, as we have never seen the various crops at this season of the year in a condition as advanced and healthy as they now are. To the cane crop these

remarks are well applied. The parishes of Orleans, (lower part,) St. Bernard, and Plaquemines have probably about the same number of acres of cane to grind as last season, while the actual amount of weight would certainly exceed last season's amount by at least 50 per cent." * * * "When we say that the actual number of stalks to the acre is 50 per cent. greater than last season, that the cane is one month ahead this year in cultivation and size, and that the yield will be over 50 per cent. greater than last year, all the sugar planters will support us in our assertions. Estimating the crops as closely as possible (that is, the probable yield) on forty-four first-class sugar plantations in the three above-named parishes, (acreage and condition having been furnished,) it is thought that they will yield a little over 11,000 hogsheds of sugar, and between 15,000 and 20,000 barrels molasses, which figures are far below what would have been made had not crevasses destroyed or badly injured several hundred acres of cane. Thus, with the largest sugar crop made since the war in prospective, with unfavorable reports of the Cuban crop to stimulate prices, and a prospect for a greater demand for their product than was felt last year during the panic—with all these and other things to cheer them, and also with the knowledge that this is the cheapest sugar crop they have ever cultivated, the planters think they have every reason to be in good spirits."

THE RICE CROP.

The rice crop is very abundant throughout the State. The report from the locality under review is as follows :

"The rice crop below the city is in acreage by far the largest ever grown below New Orleans. During this and last year eleven large sugar plantations of that region have been wholly or partially converted into rice plantations, and innumerable small farms have been added to the area that was already in cultivation. Over twelve fields, of more than three hundred acres each, are cultivated. Fields of one hundred acres are numerous, while the whole acreage below the city is over ten thousand acres. The two largest places—Merrit's and Oakland—are almost certain to make over seventeen thousand barrels of rough rice. Ten days ago planters and merchants estimated that the lower coast would produce considerably over one hundred thousand barrels of rough or fifty thousand barrels of clean rice. The recent dry weather having been unfavorable to filling, these estimates have been cut down ; but still the crop is expected to reach one hundred thousand barrels, or more than a third of the crop of the State. The yield of the new crop so far has been fine, one planter having obtained seven hundred and eighty-six barrels of rice from fifty acres of land—over fifteen per acre. The quality of the grain is considerably better this year than it was last."

THE CORN CROP.

In other portions of the State the corn crop averages better than on the plantations below New Orleans, which are reported as follows :

"In the lower section the corn crop will return far more than was at first supposed, as the rains of June and July forced corn already abandoned to grow with wonderful rapidity. The corn acreage is somewhat smaller than last year's area. While planters will raise enough of this crop to last them seven or eight months, others will scarcely have three months' mule feed as a return from their corn fields. Fighting the flood was the order of the day about the time for corn planting; hence the short crop of this most important cereal."

THE ORANGE CROP.

The orange crop below the city this season will, says our authority, be about a fair average. The groves generally

look better than has been the case for several seasons. As it is the orange growers will realize handsome profits on their crops, as there is a continually growing and already great demand for Louisiana oranges, which, in flavor and size, are the finest in the world.

VEGETABLES.

The potato and various crops of garden vegetables on the lower coast have been unusually abundant this year, from which cause many of the small farmers and gardeners have been thriving well, and have prepared their grounds for a heavy sweet-potato and winter-garden crop.

RECAPITULATION.

The writer sums up the result of his observations and inquiries as follows: "Thus, from this city to the forts, two narrow strips of land, each about one-half mile wide, will probably make this year about 12,000,000 pounds of sugar, 100,000 barrels of rice, 750,000 gallons of molasses, thousands of bushels of potatoes, nearly \$200,000 worth of oranges, boat loads of melons and garden stuffs, and many other products great in value. Verily, the lower coast is the garden spot of America."

This, as stated, may be taken as a fair indication of the crop prospects throughout the State, and it is certainly very gratifying. What it would be if the Democratic opposition to negro citizens should cease, and all classes attended diligently to the improvement of their plantations and other industrial interests, we leave to those more immediately interested to decide. This we may say with safety, that Louisiana would soon become one of the most prosperous States in the Union. But there is progress and development even now, as is indicated in the fact that "innumerable small farms have been added to the area that was already in cultivation." More farms indicate more land-owners, and men who have a stake in the country have also an eye to the peace and progress of the State.

PROTECTION TO THE SOUTH.

The action of the President in directing the Secretary of War to use United States troops, under the direction of the Attorney General, for the protection of loyal citizens in the Southern States, meets with the unqualified approval of every fair-minded citizen. A few Democratic journals have indulged in the usual howl against Federal interference, but this must be expected when we consider that the outrages committed throughout the South have been inspired by Southern Democracy.

It is the duty of the Government to protect its citizens everywhere. The butchery of American citizens by a Spanish official at Santiago aroused a feeling of indignation throughout the land. The Government promptly responded to the popular feeling and put itself in a warlike attitude to redress the wrong done. The prompt compliance on the part of Spain to our demands averted a war which at first seemed inevitable. Years ago the gallant Ingram of our navy cleared his decks for action and threatened to open fire on an Austrian frigate if Martin Kosta, a naturalized citizen who had been seized by the Austrian officials, was not given up. Ingram held that the American flag carried protection to its citizens wherever it floated, and the nation rang with applause when Daniel Webster transformed the deed of Ingram into logic and sent it to Hulseman as a rule of conduct which would govern the Republic hereafter. If a tenth of the outrages committed on American citizens in the South should be committed by France or England, war would be declared in less than thirty days. To tolerate it longer would be a crime; to refuse to demand the punishment of the offender would be national cowardice. If States are unwilling or powerless to arrest the lawless bands within their limits the Government must treat these bands as public enemies, and arrest and punish them wherever found.

Law abiding citizens can not object to governmental protection; they will accept it as the sign of peace and prosperity. The protest against it will come from those who have connived at the crimes committed, and who have encouraged the persecution of those who have been loyal to the flag which these oppressors once endeavored to destroy. In the name of the millions of loyal hearts everywhere, we thank the President for his timely action. "It will come as sunshine, bursting through a cloudy sky to thousands of humble homes in the South. It will banish terror and strengthen hope. It will be hailed by the loyalists throughout the South as the bow of promise. "God bless the President, and keep the Republic in the hands of loyal men" will be the universal prayer of a people who have sacrificed much to save the nation, and who are willing to sacrifice more to protect its citizens.

AN IMPORTANT MOVEMENT.—A call for a convention of Republicans of the reconstructed States comes directly from those States, and in view of recent developments of political proscription and the wholesale sacrifice of life in the South, it carries with it an importance that will command attention in every part of the Union. The call is signed by statesmen and influential Republicans, and is approved by the Republican Executive Congressional Committee.

The object of the convention is, as stated in the call, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the condition of affairs in the reconstructed States," and it is hoped that in this effort the convention will be entirely successful, in order that intelligence and wisdom may guide the policy to be pursued for the protection of life and property and the restoration of peace and harmony. A prudent physician will never prescribe until he understands fully the nature of

the disease and discovers the cause of its inception. He will then proceed with the twofold object of restoring his patient to health and removing the cause of the disease so that a repetition of the trouble may not occur. In a political and social sense such is the object of this convention of prominent men from the reconstructed States; and it is the prayer of the people throughout all the States, South and North, that their deliberations may be so guided by intelligence, wisdom, and prudence that the desired results may be obtained to the fullest extent in the adoption of measures that will bring peace to the people, safety to life, and prosperity to those otherwise highly favored sections of the American Union.

Editors with whom THE REPUBLIC has an exchange, and who are favorable to this effort for peace and prosperity, will aid the object in view by publishing the call and drawing attention to the subject in their editorial columns.

THE CROPS IN EUROPE.—As the cereal product of Europe comes in direct competition in the English markets with grain from the United States, reliable reports of the amount of the European yield are, just now, full of importance to American farmers and dealers in the products of the soil. On the 11th of August an "International Grain and Seed Market" was held in Vienna, at which official reports were made of the harvests and the amount of the yield in the German Empire, Austria, and Hungary. From these reports the following facts have been gathered:

In Austro-Hungary the supply of wheat, rye, and corn is above the average production. Of wheat the average yield is about 118,660,000 English bushels, while this year's crop is about 127,385,000. The yield of rye will be about 2 per cent. above the average, giving a product of 142,218,000 bushels. The oat yield will amount to about 77,000,000 bushels, or five per cent. more than the average. The total yield of

these three grains is thus very large, and will give Austria and Hungary an important position in the world's market for breadstuffs.

In Prussia the wheat crop is a full average one, amounting to about 54,000,000 American cwt. The crop of rye is about 20 per cent. below the average, the total yield being about 93,700,000 cwt.

The Rhenish Provinces have a wheat crop 15 per cent. above, and a rye crop 15 or 20 per cent. below an average.

Bavaria and Franconia have a wheat crop above, and a rye crop below the average, and will have about 1,410,000 cwt. of breadstuffs for export.

Wheat and rye are a good crop in Saxony.

Hanover's wheat is 5 or 10 per cent. above, and rye is 15 per cent. below the average.

Baden's crops are light.

Wurtemberg has 20 per cent. more than an average of wheat, and also a more than average crop of rye. The Kingdom will have 1,063,000 cwt. of grain for export. Last year 2,500,000 cwt. had to be imported.

Mecklenburg will have a larger surplus than last year. Wheat and rye promise well in Schleswig-Holstein.

It will be seen from the above that the German Empire will come upon the market with a large surplus of breadstuffs. Austro-Hungary, however, will have to buy 3,500,000 bushels of oats. The same countries will have about 5,235 cwt. of barley to spare. The exportable surplus of breadstuffs definitely reported, in connection with the above mentioned countries, includes 12,000,000 cwt. of flour from the Austrian Empire, and from the same country 5,235,000 cwt. of rye and a moderate amount of corn; from Bavaria 700,000 cwt. of wheat and 700,000 cwt. of rye; and from Wurtemberg 1,000,000 cwt. of wheat. Besides the exportable excess thus definitely stated, there is a surplus in other countries not expressly estimated.

THE SOUTHERN REBELLION—ITS EXTENT AND CONSEQUENCES.

The following is from the *Daily News* of September 10th, a Democratic paper published at Atlanta, Georgia:

"Against the fate that confronts us what have the Southern people? Is it that 'prudence' which such papers as the *Louisville Courier-Journal* advocates, but which men less gifted than the editor of that paper call a dastardly submission? No! Our only hope is in a stern, resolute resistance—a resistance to the death, if necessary, with arms in our hands. Let there be 'White Leagues' formed in every town, village, and hamlet of the South, and let us organize for the great struggle which seems to be inevitable. If the October elections which are to be held at the North are favorable to the Radicals the time will have arrived for us to prepare for the very worst. The radicalism of the Republican party must be met by the radicalism of white men. We have no war to make against the United States Government, but against the Republican party our hate must be unquenchable, our war interminable and merciless. Fast fleeting away is the day for wordy protests and idle appeals to the magnanimity of the Republican party.

"By brute force they are endeavoring to force us into acquiescence to their hideous programme. We have submitted long enough to indignities, and it is time to meet brute force with brute force. Every Southern State should swarm with White Leagues, and we should stand ready to act the moment Grant signs the civil rights bill. It will not do to wait until Radicalism has fettered us to the car of social equality before we make an effort to resist it. The signing of the bill will be a declaration of war against the Southern whites. It is our duty to ourselves, it is our duty to our children, it is our duty to the white race whose prowess subdued the wilderness of this continent, whose civilization filled it with cities, and towns, and villages; whose mind gave it power and grandeur, and whose labor imparted to it prosperity, and whose love made peace and happiness dwell within its homes, to take up the gage of battle the moment it is thrown down.

"If the white Democrats of the North are men they will not stand idly by and see us borne down by Northern Radi-

cals and half barbarous negroes. But no matter what they may do, it is time for us to organize. We have been temporizing long enough. Let Northern Radicals understand that military supervision of Southern elections and the civil rights bill mean war, that war means bloodshed, and that we are terribly in earnest, and even they, fanatical as they are, may retrace their steps before it is too late."

The question naturally arises whether such sentiments as are expressed by the editor of the *News* are shared by his Democratic fellow-citizens in the South. As his paper is sustained in that section it is fair to presume that he has a following, and that his sentiments are such as find a ready market in the community in which they are so shamelessly avowed. If there are Democrats in the South who do not support these lawless threats the time has arrived when their opposition should be announced.

When a leading organ openly proclaims the determination of its supporters to make desperate and relentless and bloody war upon the majority of the American people for no other reason than that they favor the enforcement of law and the preservation of life, liberty, and property; and when the suggestions of such organs are daily culminating in assassination and revolution, it is time that good citizens take warning, no matter to what political party they may belong. These same men in not dissimilar strains declared war upon the Republican party in 1861, and it is unnecessary to remind them of the consequences. They may as well take note now as hereafter that a war of extermination or subjection, such as they propose, will not be submitted to by the American people without resistance. They may as well learn now as hereafter that citizenship involves protection wherever it may exist, and that the people of the United States will not consent to be excluded from any portion of their

territory, nor will they permit unlawful or disloyal combinations to deprive them of any of the rights of citizenship anywhere that the flag floats or that the national authority can penetrate. No effort of White Leagues or other unlawful, murderous, or revolutionary combination will be able to drag this controversy into the gutter of partisan warfare. It is above and beyond that. It involves the very existence of civil liberty and constitutional government. It is not one moment too early for the people of the United States to look the whole question in the face from this standpoint.

The disclaimer which the *News* cautiously puts forth that "*We have no war against the United States Government,*" will not be available. It is a war upon all constituted government. It is anarchy. It is as much a revolution and as intolerant in spirit and as destructive of order and as dangerous to life and property as was the rebellion of 1861. The feeling which inspires this spirit is not born of race prejudice alone, but lies deeper, and extends back to the period when slavery predominated to the exclusion of both loyalty and humanity. The contest is now renewed for the purpose of reinstating in power the spirit of the Lost Cause, first in the States, and finally over the nation. White Leagues are but another and modern name for Southern Leagues. Home rule and local government in the vocabulary of these organizations are the talismanic names by which the assassins hope to achieve supremacy, defy law, suppress freedom, and degrade citizenship.

The slaughter of unoffending citizens at Colfax, Coushatta, Austin, and in Gibson county, Tennessee, are merely the premonitory symptoms, the sudden outbreak of the scouting parties of the Southern Leagues. The revolution in New Orleans is simply a foretaste of what may be expected from these organizations whenever the national authority shall be placed in sympathizing hands.

It is well known that these organiza-

tions are extended and extending over every Southern community, and that their fixed purpose is the reconquest of the reconstructed South. They will not tolerate freedom of opinion. They seek the overthrow of every species of authority which is in accord with the National Government or loyal to the progress of events and the provisions of the Federal Constitution. They are determined to abolish all effective guarantees of popular education. They are planning to trample down the dignity of citizenship by rendering its prerogatives insecure and their enjoyment subject to the caprice and dictation of organized criminals.

In Virginia and Arkansas propositions are, at their bidding, already pending by which the independence of the ballot is to be utterly destroyed; and in the Gulf States the speedier process of intimidation and murder is relied upon to insure Democratic success. Thousands have already fallen under the bullet or the knife of the assassin with this end in view. To the order-loving citizens this statement may appear to be exaggerated; but it is not exaggerated. It is true. And it can not be shown that anybody has been punished for these crimes, or that any but Republicans have been victims. The plea of carpet-bag governments, if true, would not justify these outrages; but it is not true, for the Southern governments are mainly in the hands of men of Southern birth, as are the Federal offices in most of those States. But we do not regard this as material, for we hold that a citizen of the United States, subject to the National and State laws, has a right to accept position at the hands of the people or of the National or State authorities, and that he should be protected in that right, and that government, National or local, is unworthy of the name when it fails to afford such protection.

What have the Southern people to expect from further submission to the policy and dictation of the violent and selfish leaders of the Democratic party

in that section? Has such leadership and such blind following given them peace, security, or prosperity? Are not their industries languishing, their fields unproductive, their streams running to waste, their mines unopened, their population unthrifty, their commerce diminishing, their schools to a large extent unattended, their property marketless, and their general resources neglected? If these things are at all true is it not time to call a halt? Is it not time for the thinking and better portion of the Democracy South to abandon such disastrous leadership? Disorder will never remedy these deplorable evils. 'Ostracism will never invite successfully population, enterprise, or capital. With the soil, climate, and productions, mineral and agricultural, of the South, it should be the most prosperous and populous section of the Union. There is but one road to this desirable condition, and that lies through the broad and even plain of peace, loyalty, and order.

UNFORTUNATE.—It is unfortunate for the Democratic party that it can not con-

trol the ruffians which belong to it long enough to get into power. Just when it needs public confidence it loses it. Just when the people are beginning to feel that the party has reformed and means well, and that the devil has been cast out of it, the cloven foot shows itself, and the old-time rascality crops out in full bloom. Democracy has a terrible load to stagger under, and to add to its burdens by increasing its power would be little short of cruelty. When it succeeds in civilizing Georgia and Texas it may turn its attention to the nation. If the rifle and knife prove effective civilizing agencies in those States it may pay to introduce these novel instruments of political reform a little further North. But we fear the experiment will fail. Conversion through fear is not very lasting and the power thus gained is only for a day. Democracy should issue a proclamation to the faithful, urge them to appear honest and law-abiding citizens until the party is enthroned at the National Capital. It will be hard work for the faithful to affect the disguise, but it may pay if kept up for a score of years.

WHITE LEAGUE OUTRAGES.

We have collected a list of some of the murders and other outrages recently committed in Alabama and other Southern States. This list will be published from month to month in order to let the perpetrators of those deeds see their acts as others view them. Additions will be made to the list as fast as the facts in each case come to us, authenticated by reliable Southern correspondents.

ALABAMA.

July 13.—At night, because they had attended a Republican meeting, Chancellor Felder and Colonel Seawell, of Greenville, in Butler county, were fired upon and followed to Colonel Seawell's house by assassins, who were prevented from carrying out their bloody purpose by the timely arrival of the sheriff and his posse.

A few days later the Republicans of Barbour county called a Republican meeting at Clayton. When the meeting was organized a White League mob entered the hall and "attacked the speaker on the stand with sticks, knives, and pistols."

August 1.—Walter P. Billings, a young and promising lawyer, was riding on horseback home from a Republican meeting, at five o'clock in the afternoon, when, in passing through a piece of woods within half a mile of his house, he was shot by assassins lying in ambush. He and his horse were found dead on the road in the morning. His money and watch were untouched.

August 23.—A train on the Albemarle and Chattanooga railroad was stopped at York, Alabama, by a false signal; a

band of armed men entered the mail car and shot the colored mail agent (Ivey) in cold blood.

In Lee county a body of armed white men surrounded a colored church during divine service and fired a volley into the building, killing four persons and seriously wounding several others.

In Livingston, Mr. Allen, a hotel-keeper, was brutally beaten because he dared to say he was a Republican.

Within the last ten days no less than fourteen murders have been committed within an area of thirty miles of Meridian.

Up to this time not a single white Democrat has been murdered, outraged, or otherwise maltreated in any way in the State of Alabama. The killing has all been on one side.

ARKANSAS.

August 1.—A white man was murdered in Eagle township, near Little Rock. A negro was charged with the murder, and without evidence or probability of guilt he was seized, mounted on horseback, ostensibly to be carried to Little Rock for trial, with his feet fastened under the horse and his hands tied behind him. When on the way a *melee* was purposely started by those having him in charge, and he was shot under a pretense that the shot was fired from the bushes.

August.—A colored preacher named Cook Ross was taken from his church door in Lafayette county, at the close of the Sabbath services, by mounted and armed white men. He was ordered to walk off a few paces, when one of the party said: "I haven't killed a G—d n—nigger son of a b—h for some time; now, take that." He was shot dead in the presence of his congregation.

August.—Saturday at midnight a party of White Leaguers went to the house of a colored widow in Tennessee township, and called out George, her only son, a harmless, industrious young man of 18 years of age, and a nephew of the widow, a young lad who was visiting his aunt. While crossing a field near

the residence of Martin Burke the widow's son was shot, and the other escaped to the woods. Whether he was pursued and shot is yet unknown.

August.—Three leading colored men were arrested on a trumped-up charge of petty larceny, and dragged to jail in Clarksville. At night they were taken to the woods by a gang of White Leaguers, a mile from town, and each received 600 lashes, with instructions to leave the county before daylight or they would be killed at sight. They were found next day with parts of their bodies pounded to a jelly and blood trickling from a hundred wounds.

KENTUCKY.

We find the following in the Lexington (Mo.) *Caucasian*, a leading Democratic paper:

"Kentucky's criminal record rivals Missouri's—and human language can award it no more appalling pre-eminence. Hell seems to have been upset and spilled all over the State. Its very sod is reeking with the blood of slaughter. Eleven murders, twenty-two shooting and stabbing affrays, and the wholesale killings and burnings at Lancaster, all in four weeks, and not one legal hanging in four times as long, is enough to blast, for a generation, the fame of any ordinary half dozen commonwealths, even though the bones of Clay and Crittenden reposed in each of them. Its a horrid blot upon Southern civilization. It gives a tinge of justice to the Yankee howl about our ruffianism, heathenism, barbarism. The true men of Kentucky should rise in the resistless might and majesty of right; crush out this hideous lawlessness at once and forever; rescue their State from reproach; and render the beautiful Blue Grass Realm, what nature designed it to be, a Paradise instead of Pandemonium."

LOUISIANA.

August 29.—Six white State officers and six colored men were shot at Coushatta to make vacancies for White League officers to fill.

One of the last victims at Coushatta was the postmaster, Andrew Bosler. It is feared that the twenty-five colored men held by the mob have also been killed. Thus far twenty-one deaths are reported. A school teacher from Compton,

by the name of Vandusen, has disappeared at Alexandria, and is doubtless murdered. His life had been threatened several times.

September 15.—The White Leaguers of New Orleans, assisted by their deluded followers, massacred forty to fifty citizens on the streets of New Orleans, took possession of the State House, and drove out the Governor and State officers.

TENNESSEE.

August 1.—Burning of the school-house at Commerce, Smith county.

August 6.—Cash Warren was shot in Somerville.

August 7.—Massacre of the Reeves brothers at Somerville.

August 10.—Burning of two churches near Cypress, West Tennessee.

August 11.—Burning of two churches in Haywood county.

August 12.—Midnight murder of Sandy Peebles, an inoffensive old colored man, by masked men at Stewart's Creek, Rutherford county.

August 15.—Unprovoked murder of Robert Banks, a colored musician, near Kingston Springs, by one William Kellam, who asked him if he didn't want to shoot. Banks replied, "No, sir," to which Kellam said, "Then I will shoot you," and shot him dead.

August 13.—Burning of school-house at Gardner's Station, Weakly county.

B. H. Nelson was shot at Pulaski in the day by unmasked men.

August 14.—Burning of school-house near Grant, Smith county.

August 22.—Fiendish murder of Julia Hayden, a colored school teacher, at Hartsville, by midnight marauders. She was shot dead in her bed at midnight by unknown (?) parties.

August 24.—Cruel and unprovoked murder of Dick McKinney, an inoffensive and aged colored man, by maskers, at Chestnut Mound, Smith county.

August 25.—Wholesale butchery of sixteen colored men, who were taken from the jail at Trenton, Gibson county,

by armed and masked men and shot down like dogs.

August 20.—The finding of the dead bodies of three negroes fastened on a raft floating down the Tennessee river, with a card attached to their persons with the following inscription: "They have a ticket to New Orleans; please let them pass."

August 28.—On the farm of Mrs. McKinley, near Carthage, a highly respected and harmless, but patriotic old negro was visited by six masked Kuklux, who smashed down his cabin door and fired promiscuously into the family. The daughter was wounded, not seriously, and the old man severely. He then seized an ax and sprang to the door, when three bullets were sent through his body, after his head was smashed with the ax he brought out, after which the murderers suddenly disappeared.

TEXAS.

June 22.—C. W. Washburn, a school teacher in a colored settlement in Gaudaloupe county, was taken from his bed by masked white men, tied and received 100 lashes and allowed six days to leave the county.

June 23.—J. F. Gesner, for teaching a Sabbath school in a colored church, near Sequin, was dragged from his house at night by eight white men masked and armed. While they were putting a rope round his neck he shouted murder, and aroused his neighbors. After beating Mr. Gesner over the head with a six-shooter the mob escaped. Mr. Gesner was obliged to leave the county, and his crop ungathered.

Rev. J. Webster lynched by hanging because he interposed in favor of Washburn and Gesner.

August 28.—Three colored men were shot in Corsicana.

Over six hundred murders, it is said, have been committed in Texas since Governor Coke succeeded Governor Davis, including preachers and teachers. This statement is made on the authority of a responsible official residing in the State.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

OHIO REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

Assembled at Columbus, September 2, nominated State officers, and adopted a platform in favor of "a tariff for revenue, with such incidental protection as may foster and encourage American industry;" free banking when currency reaches a specie value; condemning the recent outrages upon life in the South; and indorsing the present Republican Congress in repealing the law increasing official salaries; in reducing expenses by more than \$20,000,000; in successfully resisting all "jobs;" in abolishing the extravagant government of the District of Columbia, and in reforming abuses generally; whereby the Republican party is proved to be worthy of the continued support of the people.

NEBRASKA REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

met at Lincoln on the 2d of September, nominated State officers, and adopted a strong Republican platform favoring proper protection to labor and the industrial interests of the country, and a currency based on a metallic standard; free banking, well guarded by national law; rigid accountability on the part of officials; cheaper and more extended transportation facilities. It is against a third term; disapproves the Quaker-Indian policy; invites immigration, &c., and declares an "unwavering determination to stand by the great principles of the Republican party."

MISSOURI PEOPLE'S STATE CONVENTION

met September 2, and nominated William Gentry, of Pettis county, for Governor. Five out of eight of the nominees, excluding the judicial nominations, are representatives of the agricultural element. The platform is opposed to a further increase of the public debt; to monopolies to increase the cost of transportation; favors the public school system as the bulwark of free institutions; recommends a constitutional provision

calling the Legislature together only once in four years, excepting in cases of special necessity; recommends the people of the several Congressional districts to elect members of Congress who will have constantly in view the true interests of the producers of the West; the improvement of the water-routes of the country and other means of transportation to the sea-board; the reduction of taxes and the adjustment of duties on imports to a revenue basis; the speediest feasible and safe reduction and cancellation of the interest-bearing debt; the abolition of the monopoly features of our banking system, with as early a return to specie payment as can be effected without disaster.

MISSOURI REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

This committee met at St. Louis, September 7, and unanimously adopted a preamble and resolution which declares that the Republican party stands pledged by a resolution adopted by the State central committee to support any movement looking to peace, prosperity, and good government for all; that relying upon these pledges many independent Democrats and many Republicans have organized and put a non-partisan ticket in the field; that a Republican party nomination at this time could only secure the success of the Bourbon State ticket; that a large majority of the Republicans in the different parts of the State desire that no steps should be taken for nomination on the State ticket. But there being a question as to the power of this committee to decide that a nomination is not needed, and not designing to be arrogant in regard to doubtful powers; therefore,

"Resolved, That a convention of the Republican party in the State of Missouri be called to meet at Jefferson City, September 23, to reaffirm the principles of the party and to perpetuate its organization, and that this convention recommends to the Republicans of the State that no nomination be made for State

officers for the ensuing campaign, but to leave the party entirely free to the support of such ticket as shall best secure economy and good government in Missouri."

The Republicans of the State will probably decide to support the nominees of the People's convention.

MASSACHUSETTS DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION

met at Worcester, September 9. William Gaston, of Boston, was nominated for Governor. The platform declares "unwavering devotion and fidelity to the Constitution of the United States as the only guarantee of safety and tranquillity to the Union;" demands equal political rights for all, white and black; denounces Federal interference with popular elections in every State; condemns lawless acts against the colored people of the South and "the carpet-baggers who have for years past eaten up the substance of the people whom they have oppressed and deceived;" demands a speedy resumption of specie payments as the only sound and healthy basis of currency; declares firm and unwavering opposition to sumptuary laws; denounces the prohibitory law and calls for a "stringent, judicious, and efficacious license law" to be impartially and faithfully enforced; and demands a vigorous reform in State affairs, reduction of expenses and strict economy, and the "abolition of all useless and unnecessary rings and commissions, including the State constabulary." This would pass as a very creditable Republican platform.

MICHIGAN REFORMERS' CONVENTION.

The National Reform Convention which assembled at Jackson on the 9th was a failure. There were few delegates present, and they mostly bankrupt politicians of both parties.

NEBRASKA INDEPENDENT STATE CONVENTION

met at Lincoln, September 9, and nominated J. F. Gardiner, of Richardson, for Governor.

The platform favors the resumption of specie payment, as soon as possible,

and cheap transportation; opposes further land grants to railroads, favors at reduction of taxes, and tariff for revenue only; opposes the patent monopoly, and favors a uniform license law.

ARKANSAS DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION

met at Little Rock, September 9, and adopted resolutions indorsing the new constitution. The convention then nominated Elisha Baxter for Governor by a vote of five to seventeen. A committee was appointed to inform the Governor of his nomination and returned with a written message that while he indorsed the convention and its platform, he deemed it best for the interest of the State to decline the nomination. Hereupon great excitement ensued, and those who first opposed Baxter changed votes to him, and the nomination made unanimous.

NEW YORK LIBERAL CONVENTION met at Albany, September 9, and was called to order by John Cochrane, who was the chief part of the convention. He made a long address, criticizing the Republican management of public affairs. He also argued that the Democrats had affiliated with corrupt Republicans in Congress to carry disreputable measures, and claimed that a new party was demanded.

The platform is a repetition of John Cochrane's address divided up into seven resolutions.

MINNESOTA REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

Held at Minneapolis, September 9. S. J. R. McMillan nominated for chief justice. The platform reaffirms former pledges of fealty to the Republican party; for the judicious enforcement of the laws for the protection of all citizens North and South in their just civil and political rights, and the whole country against the perils of insurrection; for its punishment of delinquent officials, and correction of abuses wherever discovered; for its efforts to secure increased and cheaper transportation between the West and the East, &c.

SOUTH CAROLINA REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

Met at Columbia, September 9, and adjourned on the 14th. Nominee for Governor, D. H. Chamberlain. The platform reaffirms adhesion to the principles of the National Republican Convention held in Philadelphia in 1872 as embodying the true ideas of American progress; maintains the authority of the General Government to interfere for the preservation of domestic tranquillity in the several States; and acknowledges with gratitude the interposition in South Carolina; deplores intimidation and violence to prevent the exercise of the elective franchise; asks Congress to pass the civil rights bill; pledges itself to economy and reform; to a modification of the present system of taxation; and to the advancement of education and elevation of the working classes.

A number of the colored members, dissatisfied with the nomination of Chamberlain, retired from the convention. They have held a mass meeting and will probably nominate Judge John D. Green for Governor against Chamberlain.

MICHIGAN DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

This convention took place at Kalamazoo, September 10. Henry Chamberlain was nominated for Governor. The platform adopted demands the repeal of the press gag laws; the reservation of the remaining public lands for the benefit of soldiers and sailors; the repeal of the legal-tender act; free banking and specie payments; a tariff for revenue, and the payment of the national debt in coin. It condemns the management of the State finances, and favors the amendment of the State constitution so as to permit the Legislature to regulate the liquor traffic. It also favors the State regulation of the railroads, and commends it to the suffrage of the citizens.

NEBRASKA DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

Met at Lincoln, September 10. A. Tuxbury was nominated for Governor.

A platform was adopted favoring a return to specie payments as soon as possible without disaster to business interests; opposing sumptuary laws; declaring for a rigid restriction of the Government to the legitimate domain of political power; opposing legislative intermeddling with the affairs of society; and declaring the belief that the people are the source of all power, and that their will, and not the wishes of mere party demagogues, should govern and form the real basis of all republican governments.

NEW JERSEY DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

Met at Trenton, September 15. Judge Beadle was nominated for Governor. The platform resolutions are:

"First, in favor of a rigid restriction of government, both State and national; second, favoring equal political rights for all men; condemning acts of violence and lawlessness enacted by adventurers in some of the States; third, in favor of a restoration of gold and silver as the only true basis of the currency of the country; fourth, a tariff for revenue and in favor of revenue reform; fifth, opposition to the civil rights bill as detrimental to the cause of education, and fatal to the race in whose interest it is ostensibly; sixth, a repeal of the gag law; seventh, opposition to the government of monopolies by commissions; eighth, opposition to the third Presidential term; ninth, sympathizing with the laborers out of employment; tenth, claiming to have contributed by Democratic votes to the passage of the general railroad law; eleventh, corporations should be held to a faithful performance of their duty to the public; twelfth, against the illegal issue of paper promises, and enforced for the payment of wages, is an unjustifiable imposition, and tends to the monopoly of trade."

Then follow twelve reasons why the Republican administrations are no longer entitled to the confidence of the people.

ARKANSAS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

Met at Little Rock, September 16. Governor Kellogg and the Republicans of Louisiana were congratulated by resolution on the President's proclama-

tion and action. The main business of the convention was the adoption of an address to the country and an appeal to Congress against the acts of the Democratic Constitutional Convention. The address begins by saying the Constitution of the United States makes no provision for the calling of a constitutional convention, consequently the acts of the late convention were revolutionary, null, and void; that Baxter was not Governor at the time the Legislature convened which called the convention, consequently he had no right to call the same. Even if the Legislature had been called together by a lawful Executive it was an illegal body, in that twenty-three members of the House and six in the Senate were given seats when vacancies had not occurred either by death or resignation.

A series of resolutions embodying the principles of the address were adopted. Delegates were appointed to the Chattanooga Convention of Southern Republicans.

After the appointment of a State Central Committee the convention adjourned *sine die*, without nominating any ticket for State officers under the new constitution.

NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

Met at Syracuse, September 16. S. J. Tilden was nominated for Governor, and Dr. Dorsheimer (Liberal) for Lieutenant Governor. The platform pledges the party to the principles set forth in the resolutions adopted last year: Gold and silver the only legal-tender; steady steps toward specie payments; payment of public debt in coin, (applause); taxation for revenue only; a free press; no gag laws; free men; economy in the public expense, &c. An invitation was extended in the last resolution to Liberal Republicans to unite with the Democrats "in opposing the present State and national administrations."

TENNESSEE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

Met September 16 at Chattanooga. A

discussion arose on the civil rights resolution. The colored delegates do not care for mixed schools or social equality, but insist on equal accommodations in cars, hotels, steamboats, &c. After protracted debate the resolution on civil rights was adopted as follows:

"Third, we are in favor of the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, rights, and privileges by all citizens and other persons within the jurisdiction of the United States, without regard to race, creed, or color, and at the same time we deem it unnecessary and unwise to attempt, by Congressional legislation or otherwise, to compel as between such races, creed, or color the joint exercise of such accommodation, advantages, rights, or privileges, but we recognize the principle that every man's house is his castle, and that under our Government every citizen, white or black, has the right to bear arms in conformity to law, and to express his opinions without interference or molestation."

Other resolutions favor a State Constitutional Convention to reform the judiciary, favor public schools, ask appropriations to improve the mouth of the Mississippi and navigable rivers of Tennessee, and denounce the present Democratic administration.

Mr. Maynard was nominated for Governor by acclamation. He accepted the nomination, indorsed the civil rights bill as passed by the Senate, and announced that he would participate in the canvass of the State.

AN OUTSPOKEN PUBLIC SENTIMENT CALLED FOR.—The following remarks by the editor of the Louisville, Ky., *Commercial*, together with the quotation from the charge of Judge McManama, (Democrat,) are timely and truthful, and if acted upon would do much to prevent the outrages now so prevalent in the South:

Let not all the blame of violated law and insulted justice be laid wholly at the doors of judges, jurors, and sheriffs. The people themselves are much to blame. They have not shown that abhorrence of crime and that determination to support honest officers in arrest-

ing and punishing criminals which are essential to the preservation of law and order. Judge McManama says in his charge to the grand jury of Owen:

"Proud as the people of America are, it is a burning shame that you are afraid to express your condemnation of the outrages perpetrated in your county during the past twelve months. Human life has been taken in streets of Owenton

and in other parts of your county, and the people are too apprehensive of danger to condemn or applaud it."

If the people want crime suppressed and justice to prevail, let them cultivate a wholesome, outspoken public sentiment against all classes of offenders, whether they play the murderer in open daylight or skulk under a mask by night.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT NEWS.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

THE SOUTH—THE PRESIDENT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., Sept. 2, 1874.

General W. W. BELKNAP,

Secretary of War:

The recent atrocities in the South, particularly in Louisiana, Alabama, and South Carolina, show a disregard for law, civil rights, and personal protection that ought not to be tolerated in any civilized government. It looks as if, unless speedily checked, matters must become worse, until life and property there will receive no protection from the local authorities, such authority becoming powerless. Under such circumstances it is the duty of the Government to give all the aid for the protection of life and civil rights legally authorized. To this end I wish you would consult with the Attorney General, who is well informed as to the outrages already committed and the localities where the greatest danger lies, and so order troops as to be available in case of necessity. All proceedings for the protection of the South will be under the Law Department of the Government, and will be directed by the Attorney General, in accordance with the provisions of the enforcement acts. No instructions need therefore be given the troops ordered into the Southern States, except as they may be transmitted from time to time on advice from the Attorney General, or as circumstances may determine hereafter.

Yours truly, U. S. GRANT.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S CIRCULAR.

The following is the circular of in-

structions to United States marshals and United States attorneys:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,

WASHINGTON, Sept. 3, 1874.

SIR: Outrages of various descriptions, and in some cases atrocious murders, have been committed in your district by bodies of armed men, sometimes in disguise, and with the view, it is believed, of overawing and intimidating peaceable and law-abiding citizens, and depriving them of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States. Your attention is directed to an act of Congress passed April 9, 1866, entitled "An act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and to furnish means for their vindication;" and to another, passed April 20, 1871, entitled "An act to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes;" also, to one passed May 30, 1870, entitled "An act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union, and for other purposes," which, with their amendments, make these deeds of violence and blood offenses within the jurisdiction of the General Government. I consider it my duty, in view of these circumstances, to instruct you to proceed with all possible energy and dispatch to detect, expose, arrest, and punish the perpetrators of those crimes, and to that end you are to spare no effort or necessary expense. Troops of the United States will be stationed at different and convenient points in your district for the purpose of giving you all needful aid in the discharge of your official duties. You understand, of course, that no interference whatever is hereby intended with any political or party action not in violation of law, but protection to all classes of citizens, white and colored, in the free exercise of the elective franchise and the enjoyment of the other

rights and privileges to which they are entitled under the Constitution and laws as citizens of the United States.

The instructions are issued by the authority of the President, and with the concurrence of the Secretary of War.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS,
Attorney General.

THE SOUTH—INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL M'DOWELL—THE PRESENT LOCATION OF THE TROOPS.

On the same day the foregoing circular was issued the Attorney General, after consulting with the Secretary of War, addressed a letter to him designating the localities in which troops are most needed to suppress outrages. This letter, with the circular, was inclosed to General McDowell, commanding the Department of the South, with instructions to so distribute his forces as to protect the localities designated. No formal orders will be issued from the War Department as to the distribution of troops, but the whole matter will be left with the department commander, who will dispose of the forces so as they can be used by the United States marshals in case of necessity.

The Federal troops in the South are now distributed as follows: Three companies of the 2d infantry in Alabama, six in Georgia, and one in Tennessee; the entire 3d infantry at Holly Springs, Mississippi; three companies of the 16th infantry in Kentucky, two in Arkansas, one in Mississippi, one in Louisiana, and one in Tennessee; eight companies of the 18th infantry in South Carolina, and two in Georgia; eight companies of the 1st artillery in Florida, one in Georgia, two in South Carolina, and one in Virginia; six companies of the 2d artillery in North Carolina, one in South Carolina, one in Virginia, and four in Maryland, making the whole number of troops in the several Southern States between 2,500 and 3,000. The 3d infantry was ordered to Louisiana several months ago, but on account of the warm weather and liability to fever it was decided that the regiment should remain

at Holly Springs, Mississippi, until fall. It will now be hurried to Louisiana.

PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

On receiving the first official intelligence from New Orleans of the rebellion in Louisiana the President issued the following proclamation:

Whereas under the pretense that William P. Kellogg, the present executive of Louisiana, and the officers associated with him in the State administration, were not duly elected, certain turbulent and disorderly persons have combined together with force and arms to resist the laws and constituted authorities of said State; and whereas it has been duly certified by the proper local authorities, and judicially determined by the inferior and supreme courts of said State, that said officers are entitled to hold their offices respectively and execute and discharge the functions thereof; and whereas Congress at its late session, upon a due consideration of the subject, tacitly recognized the said executive and his associates then, as now, in office by refusing to take any action with respect thereto; and whereas it is provided in the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect every State in this Union on application of the Legislature, or of the executive when the Legislature can not be convened, against domestic violence; and whereas it is provided in the laws of the United States that in all cases of insurrection in any State or of obstruction to the laws thereof it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, on application of the Legislature of such State, or of the executive when the Legislature can not be convened, to call forth the militia of any other State or States, or to employ such part of the land or naval forces as shall be judged necessary for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection or causing the laws to be duly executed; and whereas the Legislature of said State is not now in session, and can not be convened in time to meet the present emergency, and the executive of said State, under section 4 of article 4 of the Constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, has, therefore, made application to me for such part of the military force of the United States as may be necessary and adequate to protect said State and the citizens thereof against domestic violence, and to enforce the due execution of the laws; and whereas it is required that whenever it may be necessary, in the judgment of the Presi-

dent, to use the military force for the purpose aforesaid, he shall forthwith by proclamation command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective homes within a limited time:

Now, therefore, I, Ulysses S. Grant, do hereby make proclamation and command said turbulent and disorderly persons to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within five days from this date, and hereafter to submit themselves to the laws and constituted authorities of said State, and I invoke the aid and co-operation of all good citizens thereof to uphold law and preserve the public peace.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington on this fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and of the independence of the United States the ninety-eighth.

U. S. GRANT.

On the following day two Cabinet meetings were held. The final result of the deliberations of the Cabinet is told in the following dispatch, which the President himself wrote and directed to be sent through the Secretary of War to General Emory:

"Under no circumstances can the insurgent government of Louisiana be recognized. Within five days from the date of the proclamation to the insurgents such action will be taken as the emergency may require."

Active preparations were immediately entered upon to place an adequate military force in Louisiana to reinstate the officers of the State government, restore order, and guarantee security to life and property.

THE INSURGENTS SURRENDER.

In obedience to the President's proclamation McEnery and Penn surrendered on the 17th, and issued an address to the people advising cheerful obedience to the constituted authorities.

General Emory placed Colonel Brooke in command of the city as well as in command of the troops, to prevent anarchy until the metropolitan police are reorganized, and the State Government is fully re-established.

THE UNITED STATES TREASURY. THE TEN PER CENT. TAX ON BANKING NOTES.

The sixth section of the national bank act provides that "every national banking association, State bank, or State banking association shall pay a tax of ten per cent. on the amount of notes of any person, State bank, or State banking association used for circulation and paid out by them after the 1st day of August, 1866, and such tax shall be assessed and paid in such manner as shall be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue." The Attorney General holds that the issue of such bills is a paying out within the meaning of these words as employed in the statute, and that not only the association or bank which receives them and pays them out is liable to the tax of ten per cent. upon the amount paid out, but that the association or bank which originally issues them, or otherwise pays them out, is also liable to the law. He also holds that an ordinary firm, such, for illustration, as Smith & Jones, if engaged in the business of banking, is a State banking association within the meaning of the statute. Under this ruling the Commissioner of Internal Revenue is collecting the ten per cent., much to the surprise of parties who protest against such an interpretation.

DECISION OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY REGARDING THE DUTY ON CERTAIN SUGARS.

The Secretary of the Treasury has decided that East India sugars, of Formosa or the Philippine islands, pay duty according to their grade and color as sugars, irrespective of any alleged mode of manufacture. The appeals from Falkner, Bell & Co., of San Francisco, are therefore decided adversely, and the classifications made by the collector of San Francisco are sustained. Considerable interest is involved in this decision, and the matter has been under consideration for several months.

THE OUTSTANDING UNITED STATES CURRENCY.

The following is an official statement

of the United States currency outstanding :

Old demand notes.....	476,697
Legal tender notes, issue of 1874.....	3,845,000
Legal tender notes, new issue.....	53,634,963
Legal tender notes, series of 1869.....	324,559,067
One year notes of 1863.....	75,625
Two year notes of 1863.....	23,301
Two year coupon notes of 1863.....	20,900
Compound interest notes.....	419,050
Fractional currency, first issue.....	4,335,855
Fractional currency, second issue.....	3,146,207
Fractional currency, third issue.....	3,257,383
Fractional currency, fourth issue, first series.....	13,083,568
Fractional currency, fourth issue, second series.....	3,511,202
Fractional currency, fourth issue, third series.....	9,656,792
Fractional currency, fifth issue.....	8,806,514
Total.....	428,422,258

UNITED STATES REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES.

The moneys received and covered into the United States Treasury during the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1874, were :

From customs.....	\$163,103,833 69
Sales of public lands.....	1,832,428 93
Internal revenue.....	102,409,784 90
Tax on national bank circulation, &c.....	7,030,038 17
Repayment of interest by Pacific railway companies.....	1,028,895 56
Customs fines, penalties, &c.....	651,271 56
Fees—consular, patent, land, &c.....	1,898,189 74
Proceeds of sales of Government property.....	1,639,017 63
Premium on sales of coin.....	5,037,665 22
Miscellaneous sources.....	4,767,630 46
Total net receipts.....	289,478,756 06

The net expenditures by warrants

were :

For civil service.....	\$17,627,115 09
Foreign intercourse.....	1,508,664 27
Indians.....	6,692,462 09
Pensions.....	29,038,414 66
To military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals.....	42,313,927 22
To naval establishment, including vessels and machinery and improvements at navy-yard.....	30,932,587 42
Miscellaneous civil, including public buildings, light-houses, and collecting the revenue.....	50,520,144 43
Interest on the public debt, including interest on bonds issued to Pacific railway companies.....	107,119,815 21
Total net expenditures.....	285,752,530 39

REDEMPTION OF 5-20 BONDS.

The eleventh call for the redemption of 5-20 bonds of 1862, just issued, is as follows :

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

September 1, 1874.

By virtue of authority given by act of Congress, approved July 14, 1870, entitled "An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," I hereby give notice that the principal and accrued in-

terest of the bonds herein below designated, known as 5-20 bonds, will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the city of Washington, on and after the 1st day of December, 1874, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day, that is to say, coupon bonds known as the third and fourth series, act of February 25, 1862, dated May 1, 1862, as follows : Coupon bonds, third series—\$50, Nos. 14,501 to 17,874, both inclusive ; \$100, Nos. 45,101 to 54,928, both inclusive ; \$500, Nos. 28,701 to 30,963, both inclusive ; \$1,000, Nos. 70,201 to 78,132, both inclusive. Fourth series—\$50, Nos. 1 to 1,310, both inclusive ; \$100, Nos. 1 to 1,966, both inclusive ; \$500, Nos. 1 to 1,786, both inclusive ; \$1,000, Nos. 1 to 4,370, both inclusive. Total, \$12,000,000. Registered bonds—\$50, Nos. 1,751 to 1,809, both inclusive ; \$100, Nos. 13,301 to 13,900, both inclusive ; \$500, Nos. 7,701 to 7,950, both inclusive ; \$1,000, Nos. 31,601 to 32,950, both inclusive ; \$5,000, Nos. 9,801 to 10,150, both inclusive ; \$10,000, Nos. 11,751 to 12,500, both inclusive. Total, \$3,000,000. Grand total, \$15,000,000.

Of the amount outstanding (embraced in the numbers as above) \$12,000,000 are coupon bonds and \$3,000,000 are registered bonds.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

Appended to this call is a statement of the ten previous calls for the redemption of 5-20 bonds. (Act February 25, 1862) They commence with September 1, 1871, and aggregate to August 1, 1874, \$261,000,000, and with the present or eleventh call, \$276,000,000.

REMOVAL OF COLLECTORS.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue intends consolidating the internal revenue districts wherever an opportunity presents itself. Since the law went into effect abolishing the office of assessor, which will be two years next May, the force of internal revenue collectors has been reduced from 235 to 220, and further consolidations and, consequently, removals of collectors will be made. About \$3,000,000 will be saved to the Government by two years' operation of this change in the internal revenue system of making collections.

GENERAL POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

NEW MAIL LOCKS.

The Post Office Department is about

substituting for the old mail locks now used upon street boxes of the free delivery system new combination locks. Each city or district will be furnished with locks upon a different combination, so that the keys of one city will be of no use in another. Each key will be numbered, and the carrier receiving it held responsible for its custody and proper use.

LETTER CARRIERS.

The question of increased compensation to letter carriers will shortly be considered by Postmaster General Jewell, and such allowance made as the appropriation will justify.

PENKNIVES.

Postmaster General Jewell has ordered canceled the contract for penknives which have been usually issued to the clerks about New Year's. The custom obtained when quills were used for writing and a knife was a positive necessity, and has been kept up since the introduction of steel and gold pens to the present time.

INTERNATIONAL POSTAGE.

Mr. Joseph H. Blackfan, Superintendent of the United States Mails, sailed on the 5th of September for Europe, to represent this country at the

Postal Congress to meet at Berne, Switzerland, on the 15th instant. This Congress was originally called by Germany, which Government desired to bring about complete unity of action not only between different parts of Europe, but foreign countries as well. Russia objected to coming in; hence a postponement for another year, until the present time. The grand object in view is to abolish accounts between Governments concerning postal matters of whatever kind, thus leaving each Government to collect its own postage and deliver the mails of other Governments free of charge. In this way there will be an end to many disagreeable entanglements and perplexing complications. Or it might be said that the object is to secure uniformity of charges and thoroughly reciprocal relations between different nations in their postal intercourse.

NEWSPAPERS.

Under the new postal law publishers of newspapers have the right to inclose in their papers bills for subscription or receipts without extra charge; also, supplements consisting of matter crowded out of regular issue, but not handbills or special advertisements.

HOME MANUFACTURES.

There are two ways to lessen the present burdens of transportation, and true statesmanship should seek to develop both. The first, and at present the most practicable way to benefit the producers of the West and South is to bring them into closer relations with the consumers of their products. In other words, the policy of the producing sections of the country should be to have a home market for the coarse products now sent to distant sections. The establishment of manufactories is the crying need of the South and West. The South raises cotton because it is the most profitable crop. It yields more in dollars and cents to the acre than any other product fitted

to its soil. The cost of transportation, though considerable, is less relatively than on the same value in bulk of other farm products. Yet the transportation of this staple of the South, both in its raw and manufactured state, is a heavy tax on the cotton-growing regions. There is no reason why the cotton States should not manufacture their own staple. At present the cotton is gathered, baled, and sent from six hundred to three thousand miles to be made up into manufactured fabrics. A certain per centage of these fabrics is returned for home use, thus adding to the original cost of the material the transportation charges of from twelve hundred to six thousand

miles. Is it any wonder that this burden is felt and complained of? The only wonder is that it has been borne so long; that its presence does not lead to a speedy and effectual removal. If the looms of the world depend upon the cotton in distant sections, is it unreasonable to say that looms established where the cotton is grown would have an advantage over the factories hundreds of miles away? If the mills of Lawrence, Mass., can purchase cotton at Savannah, Ga., and transport it over eleven hundred miles and make a profit out of its manufacture, is there any good reason why a factory at Savannah should not have an advantage equal to the cost of transportation between the two points? Or, putting it in a still more favorable light for the South: If manufactured cotton fabrics, loaded with the cost of freight on the raw material and the return freight on the manufactured goods, are worth a certain price in Charleston or Savannah, would not the price be lower if the burden of freight was removed? It might be argued that the economy practiced and the skill shown by the Eastern factories would more than balance the freight charges, and still give them the advantage over Southern factories. This might be true if the South depended upon its own skill and management of labor. But there is no reason why the skilled operatives of the East should not be employed in the South until the Southern operative becomes educated to the work. The South has a surplus of cheap labor, the colored population alone being sufficient to supply the unskilled labor that forms so large a percentage of the necessary help in a cotton factory. It is reasonable to suppose that for many years to come the boys and girls of the colored population South could be profitably employed at rates of wages even lower than now paid in New England. Here, then, is a partial solution of the transportation problem so far as it affects the people of the South. Anything that tends to do away with the necessity of transporting and

still leaves industrial pursuits untouched is equal to enlarged facilities at cheaper rates. If the South can save 5 or 10 per cent. on its products by the establishment of manufactures, it is equal to the same saved by reduction in rates of transportation. In addition to this it would add to the wealth of the South by stimulating every branch of industry, inviting immigration, and enhancing the value of property. Real estate keeps pace in value, as a general rule, with the growth of population. The more rapid the growth of a section the more active is the tendency upward of prices in land. A few cotton factories are already in successful operation in some of the cotton States, and are yielding a handsome profit to those who own and run them. Their number should be increased. Northern capital and skill should be invited to seek investment in this new field of Southern industry. It opens to the South the golden opportunity to regain what it has lost, and to win for itself a degree of prosperity not yet dreamed of. New routes of transportation by water and land must in time be built to accommodate the increase of products South and West, but in the early establishment of manufactures in both sections we have the most practicable solution of the question of how best to relieve the producing sections from the trouble and expense of reaching distant markets.

THE Commissioner of Pensions has issued the following circular:

It having come to the knowledge of this office that attorneys, claimants, and others are allowed access to the records of certain pension agencies, or are furnished information therefrom by clerks or other parties connected with such agencies, it becomes necessary to call the attention of pension agents especially to this violation of the rules of the bureau, and to direct that this practice shall hereafter be absolutely prohibited.

The exhibiting or making known the contents of the certificates of examining surgeons, biennial or otherwise, is particularly productive of great evil.

All persons applying for information, of whatever kind, which may in any manner affect the interests of pensioners or the Government will be referred to this office, and prompt answers will be given to all proper inquiries.

POLITICAL CALENDAR.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

September 23—Minnesota, Independent, St. Paul.

September 24—Nevada, Republican, Winnemucca.

September 28—Nevada, Democratic, Carson. September 30—Sutro's Independent big ball at Carson, Nevada.

STATE ELECTIONS.

October 13—Election of Congressmen in Indiana, Iowa, and Nebraska.

October 13—Election of Congressmen in West Virginia.

October 14—Election of Congressmen in Georgia.

November 2—Election of Congressmen and State officers in Louisiana.

November 3—Election of Congressmen only in Rhode Island, Arkansas, Florida, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Texas; election of both Congressmen and State officers in Massachusetts, Alabama, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Nevada, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

REPUBLICAN NOMINEES TO CONGRESS.

Name and District. Residence.

- *A. C. White.....Dallas, Ala.
 *C. C. Sheets.....Winston, Ala.
 1. Jeremiah Haralson....., Ala.
 4. Charles Hays.....Haysville, Ala.
 6. E. F. Jennings.....Lawrence, Ala.
 1. Robert Meacham.....Monticello, Fla.
 2. J. T. Walls.....Gainesville, Fla.
 1. J. E. Bryant.....Savannah, Ga.
 5. H. C. Barchard.....Freeport, Ill.
 6. Thomas Henderson....., Ill.
 7. Franklin Corwin....., Ill.
 8. G. L. Fort.....Lacon, Ill.
 10. Henderson Ritchie....., Ill.
 11. David E. Beatty.....Jerseyville, Ill.
 12. Andrew Simpson.....Taylorville, Ill.
 13. James McNulta.....Bloomington, Ill.
 14. J. G. Cannon.....Tuscola, Ill.
 15. J. W. Wilkin.....Marshall, Ill.
 16. J. S. Martin.....Salem, Ill.
 18. Isaac Clements.....Carbondale, Ill.
 19. Green B. Raum.....Harrisburg, Ill.
 3. A. W. Robinson....., Ind.
 4. W. J. Robinson.....Greensburg, Ind.
 5. B. F. Clapp.....Connersville, Ind.
 6. Milton S. Robinson.....Anderson, Ind.
 7. John Coburn.....Indianapolis, Ind.
 8. M. C. Hunter.....Bloomington, Ind.
 9. Thomas J. Cason.....Lebanon, Ind.
 10. W. H. Calkins.....La Porte, Ind.
 11. James L. Evans.....Noblesville, Ind.
 12. John H. Baker....., Ind.
 1. George W. McCreary.....Fort Madison, Iowa.
 2. J. Q. Tufts.....Cedar county, Iowa.
 3. C. T. Granger.....Allamakee, Iowa.
 4. Henry O. Pratt.....Charles City, Iowa.
 5. James Wilson.....Buckingham, Iowa.
 6. E. S. Sampson.....Sigourney, Iowa.
 7. John A. Kasson.....Des Moines, Iowa.
 8. J. W. McMill.....Afton, Iowa.
 9. Addison Oliver.....Onawa, Iowa.
 1. Wm. A. Phillips.....Salina, Kan.
 2. Stephen A. Cobb.....Wyandotte, Kan.
 3. W. R. Brown.....Hutchinson, Kan.
 1. T. J. Fickert.....Paducah, Ky.
 1. J. H. Synner.....New Orleans, La.
 2. Henry Dibble.....New Orleans, La.
 3. C. B. Darrell.....Brasshear, La.
 4. G. L. Smith.....Shreveport, La.

5. Frank Morey.....Monroe, La.
 6. C. S. Nash.....St. Landry, La.
 1. John P. Burleigh.....South Berwick, Me.
 2. Wm. P. Frye.....Lewiston, Me.
 3. James G. Blaine.....Augusta, Me.
 4. Samuel F. Hersey.....Bangor, Me.
 5. Eugene Hale.....Edsworth, Me.
 6. Lloyd Lounides.....Cumberland, Md.
 9. George F. Hoar.....Worcester, Mass.
 1. Moses W. Field.....Detroit, Mich.
 2. Henry Waldron.....Hillsdale, Mich.
 3. George Willard.....Battle Creek, Mich.
 4. J. C. Burrows.....Kalamazoo, Mich.
 5. William B. Williams.....Allegan, Mich.
 6. Josiah W. Begole.....Flint, Mich.
 7. Omar D. Conger.....Port Huron, Mich.
 8. Nathan B. Bradley.....Bay City, Mich.
 9. Jay A. Hubbell.....Houghton, Mich.
 1. Mark H. Dannel.....Owatonna, Minn.
 2. H. B. Strait.....Sakopee, Minn.
 3. Wm. S. King....., Minn.
 6. C. W. Thrasher....., Mo.
 5. Amos Clark, Jr.....Elizabeth, N. J.
 5. William W. Phelps.....Englewood, N. J.
 24. William H. Baker....., N. Y.
 L. Crouse.....Fort Calhoun, Neb.
 4. Lewis B. Guackel.....Dayton, Ohio.
 5. A. M. Pratt.....Williams county, Ohio.
 7. T. W. Gordon....., Ohio.
 8. William Lawrence.....Bellevue, Ohio.
 9. J. W. Robinson.....Marsyville, Ohio.
 10. Charles Foster.....Fostoria, Ohio.
 11. H. S. Bundy.....Reed's Mill, Ohio.
 14. Wm. W. Armstrong....., Ohio.
 15. N. H. Van Vorhes.....Athens, Ohio.
 16. Lorenzo Danforth.....St. Clairsville, Ohio.
 17. L. D. Woodworth.....Youngstown, Ohio.
 18. James Monroe.....Oberlin, Ohio.
 19. J. A. Garfield.....Hiram, Ohio.
 1. Chapman Freeman.....Philadelphia, Pa.
 2. Charles O'Neill.....Philadelphia, Pa.
 3. David L. Houston.....Philadelphia, Pa.
 4. William D. Kelley.....Philadelphia, Pa.
 5. Alfred C. Harner.....Germantown, Pa.
 6. Wash. Townsend.....West Chester, Pa.
 9. A. Herr Smith.....Lancaster, Pa.
 12. W. W. Ketchum.....Wilkesbarre, Pa.
 13. Theo. Garrettsen.....Pottsville, Pa.
 16. Sobiesk Ross.....Coudersport, Pa.
 21. Andrew Stewart, Jr.....Uniontown, Pa.
 22. James S. Negley.....Pittsburg, Pa.
 23. Thomas M. Bayne.....Pittsburg, Pa.
 25. Harry White.....Indiana, Pa.
 27. C. B. Curtis.....Erie, Pa.
 9. Barbour Lewis.....Memphis, Tenn.
 4. John Hancock.....Austin, Texas.
 *K. Q. Mills.....Corsicana, Texas.
 1. J. B. Sener.....Fredericksburg, Va.
 2. J. H. Platt.....Norfolk, Va.
 1. C. H. Joyce.....Rutland, Vt.
 2. L. P. Poland.....Saint Johnsbury, Vt.
 3. George W. Hendee.....Morristown, Vt.
 1. Nathan Goff, Jr.....Charlottesville, W. Va.
 2. W. T. Wiley.....Morgantown, W. Va.
 3. John Hall.....Point Pleasant, W. Va.
 1. Charles G. Williams.....Janesville, Wis.
 2. Lucien B. Caswell.....Fort Atkinson, Wis.
 7. J. M. Rusk.....Viroqua, Wis.
 H. P. H. Bromwell.....Denver, Col. Ter.
 J. P. Kidder.....Vermillion, Da. Ter.
 Cornelius Hedges.....Montana Ter.
 J. M. Carey.....Wyoming Ter.

*State at large.

†Independent Democrat.